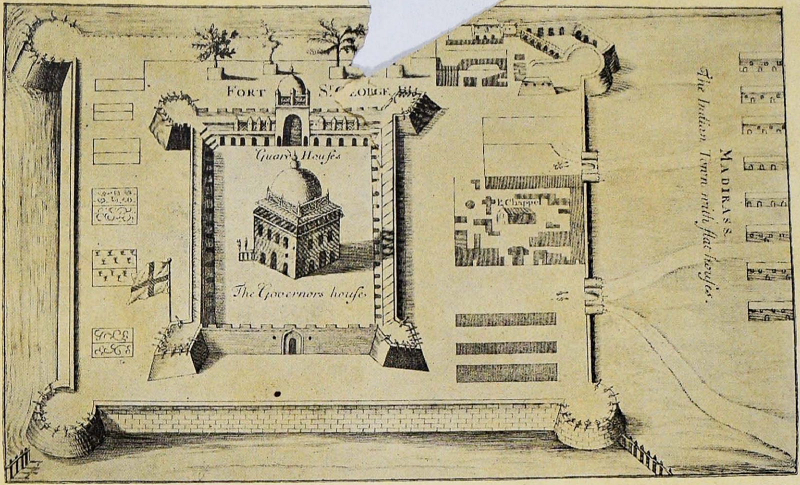


DAY'S FORT—FROM AN OLD PRINT.

VICISSITUDES OF FORT ST. GEORGE.

VICISSITUDES

OF

FORT ST. GEORGE.

BY

DAVID LEIGHTON.

Madras & Bombay.

A. J. COMBRIDGE & CO.

COPYRIGHT, 1902,
BY DAVID LEIGHTON.

MADRAS: PRINTED AT THE ADDISON PRESS,
BY ADDISON AND CO.

CONTENTS.

Chap.		Page.
I.	The Warehouse	1
II.	Prosperity, but drums afar-off ..	29
III.	Alarums; Excursions; enter Clive ..	56
IV.	Sieges, and Coote Bahadur	83
V.	The name "Smith"	108
VI.	The Vampires	133
VII.	Retribution	15[illegible]
VIII.	A Look Round	191
IX.	E Tenebris	220

ILLUSTRATIONS.

FACING PAGE.

DAY'S FORT — *Frontispiece.*

In 1730 48

In 1746 64

In 1759 96

In 1798 240

VICISSITUDES OF FORT ST. GEORGE.

CHAPTER I.

THE WAREHOUSE.

THERE is no occasion for invoking aid from any Muse in the discovery of the causes which led our countrymen into the Eastern seas. The incentive is too evident, the subject too sordid for inspiration. Dividends, 400, 500 and 600 per cent. per annum had been declared by the Dutch East India Company, and towards the close of the sixteenth century our forefathers thought that it was high time that the English should have what would now be called a look-in. But the reason for their selecting a spot on the low-lying Coromandel coast for a Presidency, is not so obvious. When the impatient voyager, on his way to or from Bengal, finds his progress stopped at Madras; when he has grown weary of the desolate and dilapidated aspect which the town presents from the sea; when he has railed at the place and everything connected with it, and asked with indignation, what induced men to form a settlement here?—he has done nothing original. Such disparaging reflections have been

V2:11 N°2 190904

commonplace during three centuries, and they are pardonable. Madras does not, like most of the cities of this world, owe its origin to favourable conditions of land or sea or river, but entirely to the demand for a product which was obtainable in its neighbourhood, and that product was Long-cloth.

In early times it was not to Hindustan, but to the Spice Islands, or Eastern Archipelago, that the merchant adventurers looked for their most valuable trades. It was there that they established their first settlements of Acheen, Tekoo, Bantam, Jaccatra, Jambee, Banjarmassin, Macassar and Banda; and it was there that they had to contend against that fierce jealousy and enmity of the Dutch, which culminated in the frightful massacre of Amboyna, and the expulsion of the British in February, 1623. Those events diverted the attention of the Company of Merchants to the possibilities of India; and the delusion which had long been entertained, that nutmegs, cloves and mace were essential to its commerce, began at last to give way to a conviction that there was in Europe a sufficient demand for commodities, which might become even more profitable than spices. And so, in the reign of Charles I., our ancestors fitted out fleets of five, six, seven, or more vessels, to exploit the Indian coasts, and bring back cargoes of Indian curiosities. The outlet in Eastern markets for English manufactures was but small,

the natives had no use for them. But for gold and silver they were then, as now, always prepared to treat. Bullion, therefore, formed the chief part of the outward cargoes, and beside it the ships carried comparatively small values in iron, lead, and Norfolk cloths. It was the business of the super-cargoes to ascertain from what parts of the country the most desirable articles could be obtained, and to gain the goodwill and confidence of its inhabitants, and with the object of developing trade, they were directed to remain at the most promising marts, and maintain themselves there until the ship's return. These establishments were called factories, and their occupants factors.

But at this period, the ships seldom did return. Cargoes of bullion had a strong attraction for the roving sea-farer of other nations; their capture simplified the attainment of his ambition. And if the ships escaped the malevolence of the Dutch and Portuguese upon the homeward voyage, they too often fell victims to it while rounding the Cape, or sailing in Indian waters on the outward. One of the Company's fleet was, after leaving England's shore, never more heard of. Of others one-half, or perhaps one-fourth of the original number would anchor in the Thames again; and yet the profits obtained on the relict were so immense, as to make ample compensation for the portion that had been lost. So the adventurers persevered, although it was not

until after Spelling had thrashed the Portuguese off the Malabar coast, and Blake and Ayscue had triumphed over Van Tromp and DeRuyter in the Downs, that the voyage to India and back could be accomplished with any degree of safety. Meantime however, Factories had been established at Patna and Hughly in Bengal, at Pippli aud Balasore in Orissa, and at Nizampatam and Masulipatam in Kistna. And a small sub-agency had been opened at Armoogam, 40 miles to the north of Pulicat, the earliest settlement in India of the Dutch.

From a commercial point of view Armoogam was a failure, not being within easy reach of the principal centres of the weaving industry. So in 1639,—just at the time when John Hampden was disputing the authority of the King to levy ship-money—its chief, Mr. Francis Day, was deputed to travel southwards, and see if he could find some place more suitable for the trade. In due course he reached San Thomé, a small town, where, as is related, the doubting Apostle had preached the Gospel, and met with martyrdom, but not without leaving a large number of adherents to the Christian faith; and where the Portuguese had arrived in 1503, and have been carrying forward his good work ever since. This locality Day thought would serve his purpose. The Portuguese welcomed him, and after making a friend of the Naik, or representative of the Hindoo

king of Vizianagar, he succeeded in securing the grant of a tract of land immediately to the north of San Thomé, and measuring five miles in length along the sea-shore, and one mile in width inland. He also obtained permission to build a fortress, which he commenced forthwith, without awaiting the sanction of his employers, and he named it Fort St. George,—probably because the foundations were commenced upon St. George's day—and invited traders of all kinds to come and settle in the vicinity. The invitation was quickly responded to, and a town arose which the Portuguese called Maderas, (possibly *Madeiras*, a timber depôt), but which is known to this day to the natives as Chennapapatnam, or the town of Chennapa, the father of the friendly Naik who had negotiated the grant. The old king was soon afterwards driven from his throne by the Mussulman sovereign of Golconda, from whom the Englishmen had to seek a confirmation of their possession. This was granted in 1671, subject to a rental of Rs.4,200 per annum; and when the last-named monarch was in his turn defeated by Aurungzebe, the Great Mogul, the lease was renewed upon the same terms.

In those days the Company's servants enjoyed the inestimable privilege of being almost beyond the reach of their masters. Once a whole twelve month had elapsed without the latter receiving news from any of their settlements. They fumed

a little when they heard what Day had done, for in England troublous times were at hand. Strafford was pursuing to the bitter end his policy of "Thorough"; the King was again trying to get along without a House of Commons; ship-money was being levied with increased rigour; and the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London had been threatened with imprisonment. The nation was growing more and more angry daily, and the long-headed merchants of Leadenhall-street foresaw that the internecine war which threatened, must cause a great dulness in their Eastern trade. Nevertheless, though ere long their apprehensions were justified, and the triumph of the Roundheads, together with the ruin of the Cavaliers, resulted in an absence of demand for fine clothing, jewellery and other luxuries, the development of the new settlement was unhindered. It exported plain grey, white, and blue cloths, which were appreciated even in Puritan households; pepper, which was not considered a snare of the evil one; and saltpetre which helped Cromwell to subdue Ireland, and to carry his conquests far into the continent of Europe. Moreover, there was in Bantam a ready outlet for Coromandel cloths of bright colours, and Madras gradually became an emporium of trade, to which the products of China and the Archipelago were carried for assortment and repacking, previous to being forwarded to Europe; and the coasting trade was born. Each

year saw an increase in the number of English ships, seamen and traders engaged in transferring food-grains, fruits, vegetables, oils, oil-seeds and live-stock from Madras to the ports situated around the Bay, and on the Malabar coast, or *vice versâ*. The new Factory made a good start, and soon became a favourite with its owners. They approved of the security from native aggression, which its founder had provided for it—and which had been the fatal need of Masulipatam,—and in 1653 they raised it to the rank of a Presidency, to which all their settlements upon the Coromandal coast and in Bengal, as well as Bantam, were in 1658 made subordinate. And when, in 1667, there appeared to be some likelihood of its having been delivered up to the Dutch, they displayed the greatest concern at the possibility of such a loss, and fitted out a force of five armed ships specially equipped for its recovery.

The fort built by Day was very different indeed from that which we see at present. Its shape was rectangular, measuring about a hundred yards from north to south, and eighty from east to west. At its four corners were round bastions defended by brass cannon. The western side was open to, and bounded by a channel of the river Cooum, and outside the southern wall, to prevent it from being scaled, a moat had been dug and filled with water. There were two gates in the northern wall

and none elsewhere; and strong palisades stretched from both the eastern corners down to the sea. Right in the centre of what is now the parade-ground was the Governor's house, a substantial square building with a domed roof; around it was a square court-yard walled in by four bastions and intervening curtains, likewise defended by brass guns. None but Europeans was permitted to reside within the Fort, but outside the northern wall allotments were taken up by natives, so that thirty years later, when the enclosure was extended, it had to include some property which was native-owned, and which remained so up till comparatively recent times.

Of the earliest Agents at Fort St. George, Mr. Aaron Baker and Sir Thomas Chamber, and of the events which occurred under their rule, very little is known. They were followed by—

Sir Edward Winter ...	1661–68
Mr. George Foxcroft ...	1668—70
Sir William Langhorne ...	1670—77
Mr. Streynsham Master ...	1677—81
Mr. William Gyfford ...	1681—87
Mr. Elihu Yule ..	1687—92
and Mr. Nathaniel Higginson ...	1692—98

Sir Edward Winter, it will be noted, came out soon after the Restoration, and he was personally known to Charles II. But it was not on that account that he was selected for the Governorship, which indeed had no attractions for the debauchees of Whitehall. He had been in the Company's service in the East before, and was

believed by the Directors to be a strong man suitable for their purpose. And in some ways, he justified their expectations, for he did many things which none but a strong man would dare to do. For instance, in order to enforce the payment of some money due to the Company by a native broker, named Bera Timana, he erected a gallows and prepared to have him hanged. This had the desired effect, and if the action be condemned as unjustifiable, it must be remembered that in those days drastic measures were necessary towards people who outraged the rules of society. Bera Timana was re-admitted into the Company's service, and probably lived to feel grateful for the means taken to reform his life. It might indeed be plausibly argued, that in much later times untold miseries and misfortunes to the community would have been averted, if otherwise incorrigible offenders had been similarly dealt with. The pity of it is that Governors who may be entrusted with such powers are exceedingly rare. Even Winter, though he recovered the money, retained it for his own use.

Another instance of his masterfulness was his treatment of the person sent out in 1665 to succeed him. Foxcroft was a Roundhead, as were probably many of the younger servants of the Company, for the City of London, whence they were drawn, had been solidly Parliamentarian. The bitter feeling between the parties at

home was not then allayed, and it was reflected at Madras. Winter was a Cavalier, and had moreover some reason for annoyance at his unexpected recall. When therefore it was reported to him that the new arrival and his son had been speaking disrespectfully of the King and of the Established Church, his indignation was excessive. Were these two lank-haired snarling Puritans to be allowed to contaminate and pervert the settlement? Odd's fish no! Winter seized them both, and kept them in prison for three years; and meanwhile he resumed the Governorship.

It may be taken for granted that the Company exercised as much care in the selection of the men whom it sent out to this country, as does any large house of business in these days. Its youthful apprentices received only £5 per annum during the first five years of their indentures, and £10 during the last two years. After that they might rise through the grades of Writer, Factor, Junior Merchant and Senior Merchant, until by diligence and perseverance they attained to the dignity of Member of Council on £100 a year. At first the senior appointments were held by men who had been transferred to Fort St. George from other settlements, and for a century and-a-half its Governors were, with very few exceptions, old servants of the Company. There was therefore, from the beginning an *esprit-de-corps* among them. They lived close together, and were

constantly under the eyes of the President; they had one mess, attended one chapel daily, and on week-days were kept busily employed. There were contracts to be made with native weavers, brokers and factors; cloths had to be given out to be bleached, dyed, painted, or made up into garments. Pearls and precious metals and stones had to be minutely weighed and valued; goods to be examined, passed, and packed for shipment; and the comparatively small stock of English wares to be displayed and sold to the best advantage, and constant efforts made to develope new demands. Much time was devoted to the keeping of the books, and the drawing up of ships' manifests, bills-of-lading, invoices, and accounts-of-sales. After the day's work some relaxation was needed, and Sunday was welcome as a day of rest. But the opportunities of recreation appear to have been very limited; the records contain no allusions to any description of sport, excepting cock-fighting. Even quarter-staff and bear-baiting, so popular in the England of those days, find no mention in Madras. It is not therefore a matter for surprise that the servants of the Company passed a good deal of their leisure in drinking, dicing and card-playing. In 1676 the Company's Chaplain made a solemn protest against these and other backslidings—he wrote to the Directors that the wickednesses of the junior portion of their civil servants, and of the soldiery, were simply appalling.

He had, no doubt, good reason for being shocked and scandalized, but the temptations were many. Outside the Fort there were numerous tavern-shops—a name retained to this day—and in the cool evenings jovial company could be found amongst the sea-faring men from the ships, and the adventurers of various nations who had come to the place for trade. The songs of England, France, Spain, and Flanders would be heard far into the night, and may-be the cockney prentice who had ghastly tales to tell about the Great Fire or the Black Plague, would be regaled in his turn with the blood-curdling experiences of some roving mariner who had spent his youth among the buccaneers of the Carribean Sea. And these carousals frequently ended in fights and bloodshed.

In the absence of sport, or any other reasonable recreation, life in the Fort was monotonous, and it had no prospects even for the sober-minded. The remuneration, fixed upon the scale usual in a Leadenhall-street warehouse, was not suited to an eastern port. The apprentice quickly discovered that to live upon £5 a year, even with free board, lodging, and clothes, was an impossibility. The Writers and Factors had already realized that their chances of climbing to the top of the tree were so remote, that unless they helped themselves, they would, if ever they returned, be poorer men than

their contemporaries who had become respectable mercers of London city. It must be remembered too, that they were dealing daily with natives who were making fortunes for them selves rapidly, and were able, in a friendly way, to put them up to methods by which they could earn a hundred times the amounts they received as salary. There were numerous ways of doing this. By selling the Company's goods at less, or buying them at more than the market price; by granting receipts for larger quantities than were actually delivered, or by making deliveries out of proportion to payments; and by accepting presents and passing goods which should have been rejected. And there was the more honest method of making a secret investment, and persuading a friend to smuggle it on boardship, and realize it for them in England. The shareholders were wide-awake however, and these surreptitious parcels were sometimes traced, and disappointed buyers were known to appeal against the irregular sales. To remedy these evils, the Court of Directors ordered that all goods in the Import Warehouse were to be disposed of by outright public auction, and now and then directed that a servant detected in private trade, was to be sent home with the first ships, whether he liked it or no, and restored to his friends and relations. Some of those who preferred not to run the risk of so sudden a termination

to what now promised to be a prosperous career, obtained permission to sever their connection with the Company, and to remain at Madras as free merchants. These soon became a class distinct from the servants of the Company, who remained a select and compact coterie.

In the direction in which the Company wished that Sir Edward Winter should show great firmness—the suppression of this private trading by its servants—he was a failure, and so was each one of his successors. The effort to do so raised a crowd of enemies, the process of reconciliation commenced as soon as the stranger began to conform with the customs of the place. "Who knows not Circe the daughter of the sun, whose charmed cup whoever tasted lost his upright shape?" All the Governors of this period (excepting poor Foxcroft) went home wealthy men. In the days of the old packets which crossed from Liverpool to New York, it was said that occasionally some seedy-looking individual who had embarked with nothing more than a small bundle tied up in his handkerchief, would at the end of the passage claim luggage to the extent of 15 or 20 large trunks and cases. The Governors of Fort St. George arrived there with little, and received but £300 a year from the Company; but on being recalled, they usually claimed and were granted permission to remain two or three years longer, in order to collect their outstandings. To Master and Yule,

remittances were made on this account so late as the year 1704. At last the Directors realized that they were powerless, and gave their servants freedom to trade as much as they liked with all countries further east than Madras, and to send home, provided they declared it, anything excepting piece-goods, pepper, and precious stones. In these a strict monopoly for the Company was reserved.

None of the Governors of this period gave complete satisfaction to his employers, none succeeded in escaping the jealousies and animosities of his Councillors, but there can be no doubt that each one was an able administrator, and full of zeal for the Company's service. Madras made great progress under their rule. Sir William Langhorne, who arrived with the expedition already referred to, to investigate the charges against Winter and Foxcroft, and who eventually superseded both, is described as a gentleman of indefatigable industry and worth. He established a mint, and had his justiciaries, and a personal guard of three or four hundred men; and he never went abroad without pipes, drums, trumpets, and a flag with two balls in a red field, accompanied by his Councillors and Factors on horseback, with their ladies in palankeens. He was a strict disciplinarian too, and drew up a code of by-laws, which enacted that no person should drink at one time more than half-a-pint of Arrack or Brandy, or one

quart of Wine; and to such practices as blaspheming, duelling, being absent from prayers, or staying outside the walls after 8 P.M., severe penalties were attached. He was recalled in 1677, on charges of sundry peculations. An incident of his reign furnishes another illustration of the echo heard at Madras of the sentiments prevailing in London. With a tolerant spirit, he caused a salute to be fired at the consecration of a Catholic Chapel which he had permitted the Portuguese to erect within the Fort. This was reported to the Directors in 1676. Oates's disclosures were not made until 1678, but a strong anti-papist feeling already prevailed, and Langhorne was very severely rebuked. Orders were issued prohibiting marriages between Protestants and Catholics, and several Protestant women and ladies were forwarded to the Settlement to meet the anticipated demand. This is the earliest recorded instance of Government relief. It did not meet with the response it merited; three years later two of the ladies were still unmated.

In Mr. Streynsham Master's time, St. Mary's Church was completed and consecrated (1680). He possessed a thorough grasp of the position of affairs in India, and his views were statesmanlike, but in his turn he fell a victim to the covetousness of his Council; and the Directors, disagreeing with his policy, dismissed him in 1681. His descendants have been favourably known in

Madras up to the present day, and he was maternal uncle to the unfortunate Admiral Byng, executed in 1757.

Mr. William Gyfford, who succeeded him, was a man of milder character, and it is to his credit that, although he had to deal with a very imperious Chairman in Sir Josiah Child, he retained his position for seven years.

Mr. Elihu Yule's Governorship is famous for the institution of a Municipal government. Up till 1678, justice, both civil and criminal, had been administered twice a week, in a building outside the Fort, by the fourth Member of Council, the Mint-master and Paymaster, who were known as the Justices of the Choultry. From 1678 the Governor and Council had sat in the Chapel, as a Supreme Court, but this was superseded in 1687 by a Court of Admiralty, presided over by a Judge Advocate, Sir John Bigge, sent from England, and given a seat in Council. On 29th September 1688, under orders from Child, a Corporation consisting of a Mayor, twelve Aldermen and about sixty Burgesses, was inaugurated with a considerable degree of solemnity—the Aldermen in scarlet serge gowns and the Burgesses in white China silk. Merchants of various nationalities were chosen as Aldermen and Burgesses, and to these was given the right to elect their Mayor once a year. The Mayor's Court was held in the choultry; it had summary jurisdiction in

civil suits involving not more than ten rupees, and in criminal cases anything short of taking away the life or limb of an offender. Beyond these limits an appeal to the Admiralty Court was allowed. The Corporation also undertook the internal administration of the town, the registration of births, christenings, marriages, and burials of Europeans, and the duties of Coroner; and it had a common seal, and was capable of holding and disposing of lands, tenements and hereditaments.

Yule had some particularly troublesome members in his Council, who did not scruple to make outrageous accusations against him, and in 1692 the Company sent out Sir John Goldsborough, a sea-captain in their service, to make reports upon their settlements, and to transfer the government of Fort St. George to Mr. Nathaniel Higginson. The latter was a favourite of Child, who described him as "a man of learning, and competently well read in ancient histories of the Greeks and Latins, which, with a good stock of natural parts, only can render a man fit for Government and Political Science, martial prudence, and other requisites for ruling over a great city." We may take it that he was an exceptionally well-educated man, in an age when many ladies and gentlemen had no knowledge of either reading or writing; in an age which produced Milton, but found few admirers for him; and when reading was for the

most part a habit of the pious, who pored over the treatises of Barrow, Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Sherlock and South. It is curious, therefore, to come across, amidst the roysterers and money-grubbers at Fort St. George of those days, a young surgeon who was a student of natural history. His name was Samuel Brown, and from time to time he sent home collections of dried plants, descriptions of which were published in the Philosophical Transactions of 1698 and 1703, and they now form part ofthe herbarium of the British Museum.

Although the policy of the English at this period was to refrain from interference with their neighbours, and to concern themselves solely with trade, Sir William Langhorne had been compelled by the course of events, not only to strengthen the defences of the Fort, but to extend its area. The enlarged enclosure retained the quadrilateral shape, but was 600 yards long, and 200 yards wide; its eastern wall was parallel to the sea-shore, not fifty yards distant, and its western conformed with the bank of the Cooum river. St. Mary's Church, which was equidistant from these two walls, furnishes a very exact index to the relative situation of the Fort which exists now. The sites of the eastern faces and sea-gates are identically the same, while the former western face is occupied by the present Palace street. There were twelve streets and alleys within the enclosure, some of which, viz., St. Thomas'

street, James' street, Charles' street, Choultry street, York street, Middle street, and Gloucester street, retain those appellations to this day. The Governor's house was in Middle street, and the Chaplain's in St. Thomas' street; York street, and lane, James' street and alley, and St. Thomas' lane were in the occupation of Portuguese. The old Governor's house in the centre was converted into a large building which contained the Council-chamber and offices, the warehouse, chapel and refectory, where all the Company's servants assembled daily for work, worship and refreshment. There was one general table where dinner was served at noon, and supper at 7 in the evening. Besides the sea-gate on the eastern side, there were the Choultry and Middle gates on the northern, and a gate leading direct to a floating bridge over the Cooum, on the western side; the southern wall was gateless. To distinguish it from the town *fuora le mure*, the Fort was designated the White Town.

The Black Town was of course a thing of gradual growth, but the earliest and most aristocratic portion of it occupied what is now the northern glacis and the light-house esplanade. It spread itself by degrees inland, towards the canal, and extended two arms northwards to what is now Old Jail street; the western arm occupied the ground between the canal and Mint street, and the eastern that between Armenian street and the

beach. Between the two was some low-lying land laid out in gardens, where many a Sabbath day carousal was held. Down the middle of this open space, there flowed from the north, a stream which joined the Cooum ; its course may be traced along Popham's Broadway, and the open drain beyond. Munnady street, as its name implies, led to a ford across this stream. The Protestant burial-ground was in the neighbourhood of the present Law College. Immediately to the south of the Fort, where the old Band-stand is, there was a large village inhabited by fishermen and masula-boatmen, and there were other fishing villages along the beach (which was roadless) as far as San Thomé. Egmore, Rayapuram and Trivatore were outlying villages, not included in Day's grant, and from them the settlement obtained its supplies of meat, rice, and vegetables. The Island afforded pasturage for cattle, and feeding ground for snipe. All the country south of Government House bridge was an open plain, through which meandered the Cooum, known at that time as the river of Triplicane. The land beyond the canal, from the People's Park to Perambore, was marshy, and during the rains large sheets of water collected there ; at such times the sites now occupied by the Salt Cotaurs, and the Arsenal Work-shops, were islets.

And thus a great native town arose, with narrow streets and crowded bazars, with temples,

temple-cars and paraphernalia; temple-servants, devotees, priests, dancers, musicians and singers. With goldsmiths, blacksmiths, brass and copper smiths, carpenters, builders, potters and glass-makers; with spinners, weavers, painters, calenderers, dyers, and cotton-cleaners; with leather-workers, tanners, mat-makers, and perfumers. With doctors, surgeons, barbers, astrologers, writers, butchers, bakers, milkmen, and oil-pressers. With bankers, money-changers, traders and pedlars, jugglers, acrobats and beggars; and all the rest of the motley crowd who had inherited their occupations from father to son, through untold generations. In 1688 the population of the town was estimated at 300,000.

Was it very unlike what we see nowadays? Probably not. The Eurasian element was almost entirely absent, and there were few Mahomedans, (then called Moors), but the Hindoos of to-day are unaltered. Such a thing as English cotton cloth did not exist, but the native cottons were of the same bright hues, woven in the same patterns, dyed to the same shades, worn in the same styles, as now. Wheeled vehicles were few, but palankeens of varied colours, and large gaudily-decorated umbrellas brightened the streets, through which gaily caparisoned elephants and heavily laden camels made their ungainly progress, and white horses with pink tails and manes, carried their owners at an amble.

No doubt the place was extremely filthy, and it is recorded that the swine straying in the streets were found such a nuisance, that an order was issued that "any person killing them may have them for their pains." Contemporaneous London was equally uncleanly, and the 8th and 9th Acts of William III. made "all hogs forfeited that are bred, fed, or kept in houses or the paved streets."

As early as 1659, the Black Town was guarded by a Police force under a Pedda Naik. In 1686 the inhabitants complained that robberies were very frequent, and that the police peons were in league with the thieves and shared their plunder. The honest Pedda Naik did not deny the fact, and he even made good the losses. But he hinted that it was a generally admitted principle that salary and income were not exactly the same thing, and that the town had increased so much that his force was unequal to the task required of it. He was accordingly granted eighteen paddy-fields, and the right to collect a variety of petty customs, and engaged to employ not less than fifty peons for the future. His honoured memory is preserved to us in the street that bears his name. Within the Fort the police duties were entrusted to the small company of soldiers, for many years under the command of a very turbulent fellow named Seaton. The officers added to their pay, by becoming proprietors of the Punch-houses, which were frequented bv their men.

With the natives of the country and other orientals the Englishmen got on very well; it was to their own interest to do so. To some extent they adopted their food and their clothing, both of which were found well suited to the climate. In their daily intercourse they found the traders and craftsmen not loth to assist them in developing the commerce of the country. It was only when a tax to defray the expenses of sanitation and fortifications was insisted upon that troubles arose, and in January 1686, there was a tumultuous assembly in the town, and the shops were closed, and grain hindered from coming in. Order was very easily restored however by the military, and the heads of the several castes begged pardon of Mr. Gyfford, and presented a petition to which, in its logic, all petitions of later days possess a strong family resemblance. The people had settled near the Fort, they said, at the invitation of the English, relying upon their word and favour; they had been free from taxation for upwards of forty years, and seeing that they were a poor people, it should not be put upon them now.

Upon another occasion there was a strike among the cloth-painters, who conspired to prevent goods and provisions from reaching the town; and in 1678, and again in 1680, some trouble was caused by Lingapa Naik, who collected the revenues for the king of Golconda, and was persistent in endeavours to extort money for himself.

The garrison, small as it was, however, always succeeded in enforcing submission, without difficulty or bloodshed.

There was no great risk apparently, in travelling by road from Masulipatam to Madras, or even from Madras to Tuticorin at this time, but the interior of the country was unexplored. The Englishmen were forbidden to wander further than three miles from the Fort, and if a deserter sometimes got away to the jungles, he was generally found, and brought back by the villagers. There were rumours about a cruel tribe called Maissoreans, who had devised an apparatus where-with they cut off in one piece, the nose and upper lip of those who fell into their clutches. Not less terrible was the reputation of the Mahrattas, who made an incursion into Southern India in 1677, and conquered the country from Vellore to Gingee. Fortunately Mr. Streynsham Master succeeded in propitiating Sivajee, their leader, with a few presents, and the following year a rebellion recalled the latter to Golconda, just as he was on the point of advancing to attack and plunder Madras. In 1687, when the kingdom of Golconda was overthrown by Aurungzebe, the Great Mogul, and he was preparing to march further south to conquer the Hindoo rajahs, it seemed very probable that he might revenge himself upon Madras, for the opposition offered to him by the English in Bengal.

Humble petitions tendering submission were therefore forwarded to him, and a mud wall was built round Black Town. Eventually, while the factories at Masulipatam and Vizagapatam were sacked, Madras was left unharmed.

The traders of Fort St. George also managed to avoid conflicts with their European neighbours. San Thomé was wrested from the Portuguese by the Dutch in 1660, but in 1672 it was taken from the latter by an expedition that had been sent out by the "Compagnie des Indes" of Paris. The French occupation was of short duration, but it had some important results. They constructed the road from San Thomé through Triplicane, and their intentions were so questionable, that the enlargement and strengthening of the Fort was then taken in hand by Sir William Langhorne. The Dutch in the meantime, prevailed upon the king of Golconda to send a force to besiege San Thomé by land, whilst they attacked it from the sea, and on 26th August 1674, the place capitulated. The garrison were allowed to choose their destination. The majority elected to retire to the French factory at Surat, but sixty men, under the leadership of Francis Martin, marched down the coast to the mouth of the Gingee river, where he had already purchased a small piece of land. There they settled, and built a town which the natives called 'Philcheru,' but which, in course of time was named Pondicherry. Their

prosperity alarmed the Dutch, and on 15th August, 1690 (England and Holland being then at war with France), an engagement took place in the Madras roads between the Dutch and French fleets. It was indecisive, but on 8th September 1693, Pondicherry surrendered to a strong Dutch fleet, and all the Frenchmen were transported to Europe. By the treaty of Ryswick, 21st September 1697, the town was restored to France.

Elsewhere in the East, English interests did not fare quite so well as at Madras. In 1683 the English were driven from Bantam by the Dutch, and for the first time in history, a squadron of the Royal Navy appeared in Indian seas. It was commanded by Sir John Wetwang (who had been flagcaptain to Prince Rupert), and its object was to re-establish trade at Bantam. However, Wetwang died at Fort St. George in 1684, and Sir Thomas Grantham who succeeded him, was recalled without having accomplished the object in view.

There was frequent communication in those days between Bengal and Madras, for the sailing vessels—mostly under 500 ton burthen—hugged the shore, both in going up or down the Bay, and anchored in the roadstead to replenish their supplies of water and stores. The *Royal James and Mary*, a trading vessel which was frequently seen at Madras, was wrecked in the Hugly in 1694, and gave its name to a famous sand-bank there. Visitors from Hughly were not uncommon;

a voyage to Madras and back was a favourite remedy with the doctors; and so long as Bengal was subject to Fort St. George, the worst European offenders were sent to Madras for condign punishment. The English in Bengal had long been subjected to oppressions and exactions by the local Nawab before they were, in 1685, provoked into declaring war against the Great Mogul. The situation at Surat had also become intolerable, and the factory been removed to Bombay. The operations of a couple of squadrons which were sent out by James II., brought about a temporary peace in 1687, but the whole of the Hughly establishment was, for its own safety, brought away by Captain Heath, and landed at Madras on 17th March, 1689. Mr. Job Charnock, his Council, Factors, Writers, and their families, numbering in all twenty-eight, were refugees in Fort St. George until August, 1690, when they returned, and founded the city of Calcutta.

At the close of the seventeenth century, the English factories on the Coromandel coast, subordinate to Fort St. George, were Vizagapatam, Nizampatam, Masulipatam, Madapollam, Armoogam, Fort St. David, and Porto Novo. Anjengo, Calicut, Tellicherry and Madakara, on the West coast, were under the Presidency of Bombay. Pulicat, Sadras and Negapatam belonged to the Dutch. The French had Pondicherry, and the Danes Tranquebar.

CHAPTER II.

PROSPERITY, BUT DRUMS AFAR-OFF.

THE charter of incorporation which Queen Elizabeth had granted to the Company on 31st December 1600, came to an end when Charles I. was deposed; and from 1653 to 1656 commerce with the East Indies was free and open. But in 1657, the Company obtained a renewal of their charter from Cromwell, and when Charles II. confirmed this in 1661, he conferred upon them some novel powers. They were authorized, not only to fortify their settlements, and send gunpowder to them duty free, but to make war or peace with any non-Christian people; not only to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction, but to seize and send to England such persons as should be found trading without their license. But free-trading or interloping continued to flourish in spite of this. Many influential persons at home had a pecuniary interest in it, and at the periods when a renewal of the Company's charter was in question, the contest in Parliament between the two parties was severe. It was invariably decided in favour of that which was the most liberal in the matter of bribes. Up till 1698, the Company

held its own, and either ruined, or amalgamated with, its opponents; but in that year an exceptionally powerful association sprang into existence, and by outbidding the Company obtained a charter, three years before the expiry of their last charter. Thus it happened that from 1698 to 1702 there were two legally-constituted bodies, each claiming an exclusive right to the trade with the East Indies.

The visits of interlopers to the Coromandel coast were frequent, and nothing disturbed the equanimity of the Governor and Council of Fort St. George so much. In the month of June, 1698, one had anchored in the roadstead of San Thomé, and pretending to require only wood and water, had made secret overtures to the Portuguese for bartering guns and sugar for saltpetre. The Council immediately met and issued stringent orders that no European was to go beyond the bounds of Madras; that every European stranger was to be seized; that no inhabitant was to entertain any stranger in his house; and that any one holding correspondence with persons on the ship, would be punished most severely. "Though wearing English colours, the ship does not belong to the Company," they said, "and perhaps she is a Pirate." Many years subsequently to this there lived at Manor farm, Dingley Dell, a charming old lady, very precise and particular, who employed, with other servants, a page-boy somewhat over-fed.

She was seated one morning in an arbor, when this boy approached stealthily, and shouted—"Missus!" The old lady was deaf, as well as timorous, and (everybody knows the story) she said tremblingly, "Well Joe, I'm sure I've been a good mistress to you Joe. You have invariably been treated very kindly. You have never had too much to do, and you have always had enough to eat." "I know I has," said Joe. "Then what can you want to do now?" said the old lady, regaining courage. "I wants to make your flesh creep," replied the boy. When the Chief Secretary wanted to make the flesh of the Council to creep, he uttered the word 'Interloper'! It must, therefore, have created unbounded astonishment in the settlement when, on 6th July, 1698, another ship arrived, and landed a Mr. Thomas Pitt, who produced his commission to take over the governorship from Mr. Higginson,—for Pitt had been for many years a notorious interloper in Bengal and Orissa. Evidently the old Company had thought that for that reason he was well qualified to deal with the situation, and they were right.

The new Company had meanwhile engaged several discarded servants of the old, and persuaded King William to constitute these "his Ministers and Consuls for the English Nation in general." In this capacity Sir Nicholas Waite was sent to Surat, Sir Edward Littleton to Hughly, and Mr. John Pitt to Masulipatam. Now it happened that

the latter was related to Thomas Pitt, and these two cousins, the representatives of rival associations, began writing to one another in very disrespectful terms:—

"I could not pass by without dropping an anchor in Madrass road", wrote John, "and wou'd salute you, had I not the honour to be a Consull." "I am not unacquainted," replied Thomas, "with what respect is due to the King's Consull (whether you are one I know not); but you cannot have heard that an ancient fortification should lower its flagg to a reall Consull; it was your obligation to have saluted at your comeing to anchor." To which John retorted, "I am sorry to find the zeal for your Masters has transported you beyond sence and Good Manners. I shall Impute it in part to the heat of the Country which has alter'd your Temper. You'l know in the End I am not to be taught my Duty by you. I shall answer your Scurrilous letter from Metchlepatam, and believe me you'l wish you had never wrote in such a stile."

At Masulipatam he met with a similar rebuff from the old Company's Agent, but he established a factory there, negotiated with the Mahomedans for concessions, and boasted of the things that would happen upon arrival of the King's Envoy, Sir William Norris. Then he angered his cousin immensely, by trying to entice away some of the Factors, and elicited the following from him:—

"Mind your trade which is your Master's business, and when the Moors have banged you and Strip't you of what you have, upon your submission and begging pardon for what you have done, I may Chance to protect you here. I can't but smile when you tell me you were once near the Gown, nay and had it on too; and I believe you would make as good a Parson as a Consull. I have seen your Sugar Candy how-doe-you-doe letters to Severall, all of which will not doe. Itt may be the charming

way you have. I am of the same opinion Still, and think you may Lock up your Consull's Commission till my Masters' time is expir'd." And again "I remember the time when you your selfe would have own'd, I could instruct you in every thing, except the putting on a Cravat String."

Norris failed to obtain any advantages from Aurungzebe, and died on his way home. John Pitt died in May 1703, but in the previous year the rival associations had become reconciled, and formed themselves into one Company, entitled *The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies*, which continued to be its full title until the dissolution of 1858.

The Governors of Fort St. George during the epoch now under review were as follows:—

Mr. Thomas Pitt	...	1698-1709
Mr. Gulstone Addison	...	1709—died at Madras.
Mr. William Fraser	...	1709-11
Mr. Edward Harrison	...	1711-17
Mr. Joseph Collet	...	1717-20
Mr. Francis Hastings	...	1720-21—died at Madras.
Mr. Nathaniel Elwick	...	1721-25
Mr. James Macrae	...	1725-30
Mr. George Morton Pitt	...	1730-35
Mr. Richard Benyon	...	1735-44
and Mr. Nicholas Morse	...	1744-46

Some of these, it will be observed, were only make-shift Governors. The period is noteworthy because it witnessed the break-up of the Mogul Empire, the expansion of the trade with England, and the assertion of themselves by the traders of Fort St. George.

After Aurungzebe had conquered Southern

India in 1698, he parcelled it out into provinces, and placed the whole under the rule of his Subahdar, or Viceroy, the Nizam of the Deccan. The province in which Madras was situate, extended from the neighbourhood of the river Kistna on the north, to Cape Comorin on the south; from the sea on the east, to the Eastern Ghats on the west. This elongated territory was called the Carnatic. It was divided in two by the river Coleroon, the northern portion being the Mogul, and the southern the Hindoo Carnatic. The Mogul Carnatic had been conquered completely, the Hindoo Carnatic partially. The Nabob, or Governor, appointed by the Nizam, ruled the former absolutely, but over the latter he exercised but a nominal sway, the real power being in the hands of the Rajahs of Tanjore and Trichinopoly. And it must be admitted that in both divisions there existed a number of Poligars, or warlike chiefs, who owned allegiance to no man, and only paid tribute when compelled to do so by the sword.

The first Nabob was Zulfikar Khan, from whom, by means of judicious bribes, Mr. Elihu Yale obtained, in 1692, a renewal of the original lease, with the addition of the villages of Egmore, Pursewalkum, and Rayapuram. At that time Zulfikar was besieging the Mahrattas in the fort of Gingee, and, although it took him seven years to reduce the place, the Emperor rewarded his services

with grants of numerous villages, some of which were in the immediate neighbourhood of Madras. He was then recalled to Delhi, and succeeded in the Nabobship by one of his generals, Dawood Khan. This man gave the English at Madras a great deal of trouble. His headquarters were at Arcot, but from 1700 to 1704 he made frequent visits to San Thomé, and he never failed to utilize these occasions by extorting presents from the representatives of the Company. Sometimes professing friendship, sometimes declaring that he had received orders to destroy the settlement, he kept the Governor and Council in constant suspense as to the real nature of his designs. Numerous presents were forwarded to him, of money, horses, broadcloth, and the strong liquors which his soul delighted in,—but which frequently reduced him to a deplorable condition; his chief officers also were handsomely bribed. But all to no purpose, for in 1792, Dawood blockaded the town, and succeeded for several months in preventing supplies from reaching it. In anticipation of an attack, however, Mr. Thomas Pitt had rebuilt the mud wall round the Black Town with brick and mortar, placed the Fort in the best posture of defence, and established in it the manufacture of gunpowder. He now felt fairly independent, and it was resolved in Council that no more presents should be made. The next Mahomedan official who gave trouble—the Governor of San

Thomé—was dealt with in a different style. Pitt's letter is worth quoting in full:—

> I received your impertinent and insolent letter. We all know your King to be great, wise and just, and many of his nobles to be persons of great honour, but most of his little Governors, amongst whom I reckon you, to be very corrupt and unjust. We would have you to know we are of a nation whose sovereign is great and powerful, able to protect his subjects in their just rights over all the world, and revenge whatever injustices shall be done them, of which there will be speedy instances given. I am not a little surprised at your saucy expressions, as well as actions in imprisoning my inhabitants, when you know that I can fetch you hither and correct you for both. This is an answer to your letter.

The independent attitude of Mr. Pitt is interesting, if it be reasonable to trace to it, the courage which animated his grandson, the Earl of Chatham, in facing the rebellion of the American Colonies, and the fortitude with which his great-grandson, William Pitt, opposed the disturber of Europe. Neither Dawood Khan nor his officers molested the settlement again, and after the death of Aurungzebe in 1707, there was a better understanding between the English and the Mogul Government. The new King, Shah Aulum, was favourably disposed towards the merchants at Madras, who were invited to lay their grievances before him, which they did in the same practical, but deferential manner, which distinguishes them on similar occasions now. They complained of the numerous transit dues exacted by native chiefs on the goods which they forwarded

to Golconda and Bijapore; and of the hardship of the custom which demanded that any ship which had the misfortune to be wrecked, became the property of His Majesty. And they suggested that San Thomé, which was a troublesome neighbour, and of no advantage to the king, should, along with Trivetore, be made over to them. This petition was partly successful. San Thomé was not conceded, for it was a sea-side resort of the Nabob, and useful for keeping a watch over the English. It remained in the occupation of the Mahomedans and Portuguese, and was ruled over by a Governor of each nationality. But the Company were granted the villages of Nungumbaukum, Veysarpadi, Trivetore and Ennore, as well as a piece of land about forty acres in extent at St. Thomas' Mount, to serve them as a sanatarium.

Much of the time of the Governors and Council of this period was taken up with the government of the White and Black Towns. In the former, among the Europeans, drunkenness, quarrels, insubordination, embezzlements and forgeries were very ordinary offences. They were punished by fines, imprisonment, suspension from the service, and the most refractory persons were shipped to Europe, provided a captain of a vessel would consent to take them, which was not always easy to arrange. Assaults, robberies and murders by the soldiers, were not uncommon,

and the lash was apparently in very frequent requisition. It was an age in which coarseness and burtality distinguished the lower orders of Englishmen. Crimes of violence by natives were also very common, especially burglaries by night; there were a great many bad charactors in Black Town. It was not without reason that the gallows and pillory outside the Choultry gate were regarded with respect; for both there was no lack of tenants. Notorious thieves were made examples of by being whipt at the tail of a cart through all the streets in Black Town, and habitual criminals were shipped to the West Coast of Sumatra, "to be the Company's slaves for ninety-nine years."

In 1707 a great quarrel arose in Black Town between the natives of the Right and Left Hand Castes. The former comprised the Comaty Chetties, of Teloogoo origin, and claiming a strain of Brahmin blood; the latter consisted of Tamulian Chetties. Fifty years previously Mr. Baker had appointed particular streets where each caste was to reside, but in the interval these limits had been disregarded, and there were parts of the town where the castes had become intermixed. A disturbance took place in consequence of a wedding procession of one party passing through a street which was claimed by the other. Mr. Pitt summoned twelve of the heads of each caste, and locked them up in a room together until the

dispute should be adjusted. In this manner an agreement was arrived at whereby the Right Hands were to live on the west side of the town, called Pedda Naik's Pettah, and the Left Hands on the east side called Moothial Pettah; and those who had dwellings in the wrong quarter were to remove as quickly as possible. So far everything appeared to be arranged satisfactorily. But the Right Hand men seem suddenly to have grown suspicious that the Governor was showing undue favor to their opponents, and they went off in a body to San Thomé. This was inconvenient, because they were the chief purchasers of the goods which the Company imported from England, and the wrangle was aggravated by the fact that Mr. William Fraser, the third in Council, took their part. A curious feature of it was that pasquinades were written and hung up at night outside the gates of White Town. It was six months before tranquillity was restored, and there was no reconciliation between Pitt and Fraser; the latter, moreover, had the support of the Directors. Although the terms Right and Left Hand Caste are now forgotten, the Comaty Chetties are still found on the west side of the town; very few live in Moothialpet. And to this day they are the principal purchasers and distributors of every description of imported manufactures.

The rebuilding of the Town Wall, and the

collection of a special tax for the purpose, were causes of great discontent, and pasquinades were resorted to for the purpose of making the Council acquainted with the means by which the money was being gathered in. A plaintive protest against the imposition survives in the name of Wall-tax road.

The summary manner in which the Company deposed its Governors, is well illustrated in the removal of Mr. Pitt. A ship from England arrived, and the captain brought ashore a letter addressed to the Hon'ble Gulstone Addison, President, and informed Pitt that he was dismissed the service. Addison died within a month of his assumption of office, and Mr. Edmond Montague then acted, until Mr. William Fraser could be summoned from Fort St. David.

Before a farewell is bid to Pitt, mention must be made of the Diamond with which his name is connected, and which he sent home in 1703, by his son Robin, and always referred to as 'that great Concerne of mine.' There were many scandalous stories afloat as to his having acquired it fraudulently. His own account of the affair was to the effect that the stone had been brought to him at Madras by an eminent diamond merchant named Jaurchund, who asked 200,000 pagodas for it, while Pitt offered only 30,000. After several weeks' negotiation, the seller came down to 55,000 pagodas, and the buyer rose to

45,000; beyond which neither would budge, and the jewel was returned to its owner. However, the latter re-appeared, and after much haggling agreed to accept 48,000 pagodas, or £20,400. The stone was cut in London at a cost of £5,000, and reduced to 136¾ carats; the cleavage and dust being valued at between £5,000 and £7,000. After many negotiations it was sold in 1717, to the Regent of France for £135,000, and in 1798 it was valued at £480,000. It is still among the crown jewels of France.

Mr. Fraser's tenure of office was terminated in the customary manner in July 1711. There is nothing of much interest to record about it, excepting that during the protracted war between Britain and France, the subjects of Queen Anne and Louis XIV. in Southern India managed to remain at peace, although there were some conflicts between their respective trading vessels in the Bay.

During Mr. Edward Harrison's Governorship, Fort St. David, which was a very unruly little place, carried on a war of its own against the Mussulman Governor of Gingee, which had to be stopped on account of the great expense which it incurred. Mr. Richard Raworth was Deputy-Governor there, and as his conduct had not been satisfactory, Harrison resolved, towards the end of 1713, to remove him. Raworth objected to this, and refused to resign; persuasion was tried,

but was of no avail. He suborned the garrison, and for some days kept up an armed resistance. The Governor had himself to go to Cuddalore to enforce obedience. Eventually Raworth escaped to Pondicherry, and thence to France; and Harrison, having re-established his authority, returned to Madras. On 8th April 1715, news reached the settlement that Queen Anne was dead, and the Mayor and Aldermen, attended with the proper officers, and a company of soldiers, proclaimed His Royal Majesty King George. On 8th January 1717, Mr. Harrison embarked for England, with the large fortune which he had acquired. He left it to his only child, Etheldreda, who married Charles, third Viscount Townshend, and became the mother of George, the first Marquis, and of Charles Townshend, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the administration of Lord Chatham.

Although the good government of the Fort and its dependencies was in those days regarded as a matter of importance, it was, compared with the development of the Company's trade, a secondary consideration. The chief aim of every Governor was to increase the exports of Madras produce, and to extend the demand for British manufactures. The tendency of the markets in both directions was favourable. The consumption of calicoes in England became larger every year. So much had they, and the fine muslins,

become the fashion, that the home weaving industry was threatened. India shops became numerous all over London, and were the lounges of the beaux and belles of the period, every afternoon. In 1719, the pent-up indignation of the Spitalfields weavers burst forth in a riot. Four thousand of them paraded the streets, sousing with ink, or tearing the clothes off the backs of, all females wearing cloth of Indian make. Fashion, however, was not to be denied, and Indian cottons continued to command the markets. The investments of the Company were (next to his own) the first consideration of every Governor. They took precedence, and it is amusing to read of the veneration with which they were regarded, and of the childish resentment shown towards those who failed to treat them with becoming respect. One morning, as Captain Seaton was putting his men through their exercises outside the Fort, he came to a place where the Company's calicoes lay a dyeing on the ground, and without ado marched his soldiers over them. For this offence he was cashiered, and banished to St. Thomas' Mount. On another occasion some boatmen, in league with the peons in charge, opened some bales that were in course of shipment, and extracted several pieces of longcloth which they secretly carried off to San Thomé. On conviction, the men were sentenced to be first whipped round the town, and on the following morning

"to be put up in the Pillory, with their ears nailed thereto, and at twelve o'clock at noon to be cut off."

Exclusive of cotton goods, the exports to Europe were not large. They were made up of pepper, cardamoms, rice, sandal-wood, precious stones, and a variety of articles obtained from Malacca, the Archipelago and far east, such as amber, spices, shells, tea, furniture and china. The use of indigo, known as the 'devil's dye', was prohibited in France and Germany, and its consumption in England during the first half of the eighteenth century was small. The volume of imports was even less than that of exports; the total shipments to all India on the Company's account, did not average £100,000 per annum. Besides iron, lead, tin and copper, English broadcloth was in demand for the armies of the native states; it was used for caps, coats, shoulder-belts, scabbards, saddle-cloths, elephant trappings, linings for palankeens and tents, carpets, beds and pillows. There was also some outlet for guns, pistols, swords, knives, scissors, lustres, mirrors and cuckoo-clocks.

The Company's trade was largely exceeded by that of its servants, the free merchants, the Armenians, Jews, Turks, and Peguans. A Bank had been established in the Fort in 1683, and a Marine Insurance Company in 1688. The Armenians were the most successful; they

traded chiefly with Bombay, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, on joint-stock principles, and, in spite of numerous losses through piracies, became very wealthy. Armenian street is of subsequent origin ; the Armenian quarter at this time adjoined the northern side of the Fort. The Peguans brought elephants from Burma ; camels were imported from Arabia and Egypt ; slaves were shipped to all parts of the east. And in that era, the slave-trade was neither disreputable nor demoralizing, comparatively speaking. Between the classes and the masses, whether of fair or dark complexion, there was a very wide gulf. Enforced service was the recognized lot of the poor and the needy. Half the soldiers had been trepanned, more than half the sailors had been pressed, and Scotch laddies were kidnapped in the streets of Aberdeen, and sold into slavery to the planters of Pennsylvania. The slave-market of Madras was filled with villagers who had been rendered destitute by failure of their crops, or the ravages of war, and were glad enough to exchange their liberty for meals served with a little punctuality. It is related that some even sold themselves into slavery; but there lurks about this statement the suspicion of a paradox.

Mr. Joseph Collet was an excellent Governor. He cultivated the friendship of Saadutoollah, who had succeeded Dawood Khan as Nabob of

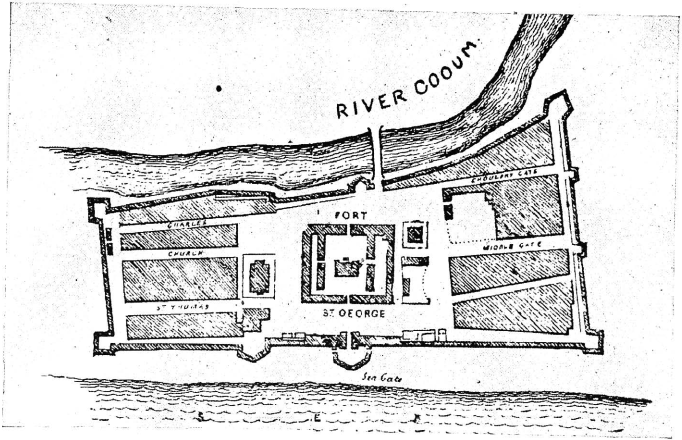
Arcot, and the settlement enjoyed for many years the blessings of external peace. He consolidated and brought into order the newly acquired villages, and established the weaving and dyeing industries in them. The inhabitants of a suburb beyond Rayapuram begged permission to name it after him, and it is known as Kulatipettah accordingly. Adjacent to it is Washermanpettah, mistakenly supposed to pertain to folk who have an interest in the laundry industry. The Company had in its employment a class of persons who undertook the washing and bleaching of grey cloth. A large open space was necessary to them, as the pieces were laid out upon the ground to dry in full sunlight, and the Washers were at first established in the neighbourhood of the Island. They complained however, that the Cooum water was not pure enough for their purpose, so were moved to the north of Black Town, where the formation is rich in fresh springs, and where in fact, the north river had its origin. The place then became known as the Washer's town.

Collet was succeeded by Mr. Francis Hastings, and Mr. Nathaniel Elwick. Both of these had graduated in the Presidency, and their moral deficiencies were public property; they were civilians typical of the times. When Hastings' short tenure was over, it was found that he had misappropriated cash to a large extent, and he was

detained at Madras pending an examination of his accounts; during which interval he died. Elwick had been the export warehouse-keeper for some years, being well skilled in the sorts of calicoes sent to England, and he had been several times in disgrace about irregularities in the conduct of his business. In the restricted area of the Fort, where the private affairs of everyone were known and discussed by his neighbours, there were, as may be supposed, many animosities. It was the practice of every Governor to employ a Dubash for the management of his private investments, and the post was one sought for on account of its emoluments. The Dubash's transactions were often of so shady a description, as to bring discredit upon his principal. If the erratic doings of factors and councillors were called in question, there were retaliations and recriminations. No man's hands were perfectly clean, and members of Council who succeeded to the chair, were embarrassed when they attempted to reconcile their practice with their precepts. Under these circumstances the Directors now appointed a sea-captain named James Macrae, who had left his home in Ayrshire in 1692, and was now about 48 years of age. He took over the Governorship on 15th January, 1725, and commenced at once to put things in order. His rule was stern and arbitrary. The management of the Mint claimed his first attention, and to

prevent competition from the mints of San Thomé and Arcot, he prohibited the export of silver, and reduced the price of the Company's rupees. He leased the villages of Egmore, Pursewalkum and Rayapuram, on profitable terms; made a survey of the houses, gardens and tenements within the Company's territories; revised the customs, and reorganized the Mayor's Court. In many other ways he reduced expenditure and increased revenue, to the great delight of his employers; and while retaining the respect of his subordinates, he left the country in 1731, with a private fortune of something over £100,000. Subsequently he was known as a benefactor to the infantile city of Glasgow, which he presented with a statue of King William, and in 1745 lent the citizens £5,000, to meet the demand made upon them by Prince Charlie.

The new Governor, Mr. George Morton Pitt, was a son of the Consul who died at Masulipatam in 1703. His quinquennium was not an eventful one, but is indicative of good government. The rent was paid to the Nabob regularly, and the Company's trade was increased, and jealously guarded. In 1734 a new weaving town was established 'at a convenient distance from Madras,' and named Chindadre Pettah. It was ordained that 'none but weavers, spinners, and other persons useful in the weaving trade, painters, washers, dyers, Brahmins, and dancing


RIVER COOUM
FORT
ST. GEORGE
CHARLES
CHURCH
ST THOMAS
Sea Gate

IN 1730.

women, shall inhabit the said town. Efforts were made to people the other suburbs 'with those sort of spinners and weavers who work the Company's sort of cloth,' but the difficulty was the absence of trees for the weavers to work under. In the same year it was discovered that two members of Council were carrying on a clandestine trade with Europe in piece-goods, by way of Tranquebar, and they were both sent to England, in obedience to the standing orders of the Company. At another time, the mind of the Governor was exercised by the operations of the shortlived Ostend Company. He 'received advice that one Monsieur La Bourdonnais in a French ship carried from Porto Novo between four and five hundred bales for the Ostenders, to Goa.' The competition of the French and Dutch Companies was never very serious. Attempts were made from time to time, by the Hollanders of Pulicat, to entice our weavers away, by offering them larger than the customary advances, but they were not successful. The Dutch export trade declined, and the French could make no head-way with their imports. The commerce of Pondicherry was insignificant compared with that of Madras, and the French importers had to seek for buyers amongst the Armenians of Black Town. On this becoming known, the latter 'were called in and told that it was the express orders of the Company that no inhabitant of Madras should be

allowed to import goods in any foreign settlement to the prejudice of the custom of this place.'

In January 1735, Pitt was succeeded by Mr. Richard Benyon, and it is time to remark that during the previous thirty years a gradual change had been taking place in the class of men sent out to the Company's settlements. They were no longer drawn from the shops and counting houses to the east of St. Paul's. It had become widely known that fortunes might be acquired rapidly in India, and a writership was a thing to be coveted for the younger sons of English squires and Scotch lairds. In Fort St. George the primitive simplicity of the seventeenth century no longer continued. The term 'apprentice' was dropped; the semi-oriental costume was discarded; and the young dandies now possessed suits of scarlet and gold, blue and silver, flowered silks, velvets, buckles, ruffles, periwigs, swords and tricornered hats. Their palankeens were luxurious and stylish. At table they dined off silver plate, and drank the soft wine of Shiraz, and luscious Madeira, as well as Rhenish, soye and small beer. The general table was abolished in 1722, though the Writers had a Mess of their own for many years after. There was a library for such as liked reading, but in education they were sadly deficient. Their handwriting was often so bad, that the Company's books could not be entrusted to them, and in 1719.

Mr. Collet complained that no one in the place was able to translate a letter from French into English. A youth named George Torriano, was consequently admitted as a Factor, because of his knowledge of foreign languages. Clergymen, surgeons, and even soldiers in the ranks, applied for admission, but were seldom so successful. And yet, though of country origin, the new generation seems to have had very little inclination for sport. We read of a Bowling green (which was in a garden approximately the site of Binny & Co.'s premises,) but of no other game. Riding however had become the fashion. In the apprehensive days of 1702, each civilian had been provided with a horse, and an allowance of Rs. 18 a month, for its keep. The animals were country-bred and Persian. And we may be assured that the youngsters had many a gallop over the Choultry plain, which extended from the Cooum to the Long Tank; and that money changed hands over a turn of speed.

But in the undeveloped condition of healthy sport, it was only natural that the occupants of the Fort should be narrow-minded and quarrelsome. The records simply teem with accounts of squabbles. There were disputes at Council, at table, in the warehouses, in the streets, in the church. Probably substantial justice was done, but there is in the after proceedings, always a suspicion of pre-judgment; *audi alteram par-*

tem was in those days an injunction to which the Council did not attach importance. On the plea of ill-health Mr. Gyfford in 1685, built a garden-house for himself on the west side of what is now the compound of the General Hospital, but it is more likely that he was weary of his disagreeable neighbours in the Fort. His example was followed, and plots of land were acquired by others; some on the way to Trivetore, and some along the margin of the Cooum, not more than a mile from the Fort. It is not difficult now, as one drives through Napier Park or the Mount Road, to picture the bungalows, and the green lawns in front of them, sloping to the water's edge. They were easy of access; there were predecessors of the Walajah and Government bridges, and they were called the Town bridge and the Triplicane bridge, respectively.

In 1732, the Nabob Saadutoollah died at Arcot, and was succeeded by an adopted son, named Dost Ali. This succession was not approved of by the Nizam, who considered the appointment in his own gift, and was further incensed by Dost Ali withholding the revenue; but for some years he was too much occupied with other matters to be able to give his attention to Arcot. In 1736, there was a war of succession in the Trichinopoly State, and the Nabob, thinking it a good opportunity for acquiring that country, sent an army there under his son Subder Ali, and his

son-in-law Chanda Sahib. The latter quickly assumed the control, and the former returned in disgust to Arcot. In 1740, a strong force of Mahrattas invaded the Carnatic, defeated and killed the Nabob, but were bought off by his son Subder Ali, who promised them possession of Trichinopoly, if they would only carry away his ambitious brother-in-law, Chanda Sahib. This they had no difficulty in doing in the following year, and Subder Ali was proclaimed Nabob in succession to his father.

This incursion of the Mahrattas caused intense alarm at Madras, and Mr. Benyon took immediate steps to improve his defences. The western face of the Fort was built up and strengthened; several buildings and sheds under the walls were pulled down; the Chevaux-de-frise were mended; the drawbridges and gun-carriages were repaired; the powder was brought in from the magazine on the Island; flocks of sheep were driven in; large stores of biscuit, salted beef, pork, and fish were laid by; and big earthenware jars for holding water were purchased. All the Europeans were trained in the use of arms; several of the civilians were given commissions; the sea-captains were ordered to send ashore as many men as they could spare from their ships, and several hundred peons were enlisted. For the protection of Black Town, the old ditch round it was newly dug, and the wall raised. Considerable lengths of this wall are still in

existence, and in very good repair. Some years previously, four batteries had been erected along the northern side,—presumably at the expense of public-spirited citizens, for they were named Gangaram's, Sankarama's, Balla Chetty's and Calvay Chetty's Battery, respectively. Balla Chetty's is excellent preservation to this day. The panic reached its climax in May 1740, when it was reported that Mahratta horsemen had been seen reconnoitring as near as the Chembrambaukum Tank, and some of the inhabitants of Trivellore fled to Madras for protection.

As has been already stated, the marauders were bought off by Subder Ali. The price he promised them was one crore of rupees, to be paid by instalments, and now the poor man found himself between the devil and the deep sea. The Mahrattas were still at Trichinopoly, and at this juncture his suzerain Nizam-ul-mulk demanded from him the immediate payment of all arrears of tribute. He was at his wit's end how to meet the two claims. He had made a friend of Mr. Benyon so far back as 1735, and towards the end of 1741 he sent his family to Black Town, where the Governor and Council received them very kindly. Like a hunted hare the Nabob himself came to Madras, with either the intention, or the pretence, of embarking on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Then he returned to his capital, and attempted to force contributions from the com-

manders of his towns and fortresses. The most powerful of these was his brother-in-law Mortiz Ali, the Commandant of Vellore, who refused to pay his share. To Vellore Subder Ali went, and was murdered there at dead of night on 2nd October 1742, by assassins hired by Mortiz Ali.

The crime caused consternation throughout the Carnatic, and Mortiz Ali, failing to conciliate the army, was obliged to flee. Meantime, Nizam-ul-mulk had at length found leisure to visit his dependency, and encamped at Arcot in March 1743, with an overwhelming army. Everyone submitted to him, and he recovered Trichinopoly from the Mahrattas. The deputation which Mr. Benyon sent to him there, was received very graciously. On his return to Arcot, he approved of Subder Ali's son,—a small boy sent up from Madras,—as successor to the Nabobship, and appointed one of his own officers, named Anwaroodeen, to be the young prince's guardian pending minority. But the tragic history of the Carnatic was only just commencing. At a wedding feast in June 1744, the unfortunate youth was cut to pieces by some Afghan soldiers, and Anwaroodeen was confirmed in the post of Nabob.

On 17th January 1744, Mr. Benyon embarked for Europe, and the government of Fort St. George devolved upon the next in Council, Mr. Nicholas Morse. There were still large bodies of Mahratta horse hovering about the neighbourhood.

CHAPTER III.

ALARUMS; EXCURSIONS; ENTER CLIVE.

WHILST Mr. Benyon was currying favour with Subder Sahib, M. Dumas had been doing the same with Chanda Sahib, who in a friendly way placed him in possession of Karikal in 1740. And whilst Mr. Benyon was preparing Madras against an attack by the Mahrattas, M. Dumas was acting with similar vigour at Pondicherry. Whilst the family of Subder Sahib sought an asylum with the English, the families of both Dost Ali and Chanda Sahib were hospitably received by the French. M. Dumas defied the Mahrattas, even after they had captured Trichinopoly and carried off Chanda Sahib to Satara. He refused point blank to deliver up his refugees. What the upshot might have been is conjecturable, if the wife of the Mahratta general had not acquired an extravagant partiality for a certain Nantes cordial, which could only be procured from the French. Her determination to obtain this led to negotiations which had a most happy result. The general abandoned his demands, and withdrew his forces, and M. Dumas obtained in consequence enormous reputation, and had honours conferred upon him by both the Nizam and the Emperor of Delhi. M. Dupleix succeeded him very soon afterwards (October 1741), and ostentatiously

assumed his dignities. Dupleix was already a Nabob of the Mogul, and of greater importance than any of the native princes in his vicinity, and it is needless to say that he impressed the people, high and low, in a manner which had never been attempted by any of the Merchant Governors of Fort St. George. Unfortunately there were more substantial affairs than mere display, in which the French had the laugh of us in those days.

England had become embroiled in the quarrel about the Austrian succession, and in March, 1744, France formally declared war against her. Both the English and the French settlements received early warning of the likelihood of such an event, but, while the latter had promptly been put into a state of defence equal to the occasion, the former had been left incapable of offering serious resistance to an European foe. Neither side, however, knew wherein lay the strength or weakness of the other. Each had been informed that a British squadron of four ships, under command of Commodore Barnet, had set sail from Portsmouth in December 1743, and might any day appear upon the coast. Dupleix had nothing to oppose to such a force, and he did his utmost to arrange a treaty of neutrality with Morse, which the latter naturally enough refused. Then the French Governor appealed to Anwaroodeen, the feudal lord of both, and not in vain. He at once sent to Morse an imperative message forbidding any attack upon

the French; promising at the same time to restrain them from aggression. And so, for a time, peace was maintained. But neither Dupleix nor Morse then knew the character of the Governor of Mauritius, who had now to be reckoned with.

La Bourdonnais was a man of infinite energy and resource. Appointed to the governorship in 1735, he had in a few years wrought wonders—imported labourers, stimulated the enterprise of the colonists, promoted the cultivation of sugar and tapioca, encouraged manufactures, erected towns, built arsenals, mills, fortifications and barracks, constructed quays, canals, and aqueducts, and, above all, converted Port Louis into a safe harbour, and provided it with docks, pontoons and yards for ship-building. In 1740 he returned to France, and prevailed upon the Compagnie des Indes, to provide him with five armed vessels for coping with the British, and with these he arrived at Mauritius on 14th August 1741. There he got news of the straits in which M. Dumas had found himself with the Mahrattas, and sailed immediately to his assistance. But by that time the cordial had worked its magic, and all he found to do was to re-establish his countrymen at Mahé, and return to the Islands, where a cruel disappointment awaited him. He received orders to send his squadron back to France, and was bound to obey. La Bourdonnais is said to have been a man of quiet demean-

our, but his determination was unconquerable, and there might yet be time to ward off the crisis. He set to work to convert every merchant vessel he could lay hold of into a ship of war, and to train men in navigation, and to the use of arms. His stratagems were innumerable; where guns failed him, he made dummies, and eked out with paint the insufficient number of port-holes. On 1st June 1746, he set sail for India with nine formidable-looking ships, manned to a great extent by negroes. Commodore Barnet had in the meanwhile been cruising about the Straits of Malacca, making prizes of such French ships as came in his way. In July 1745, he had arrived off Fort St. David, and the Government of Madras, in obedience to the Nabob's orders, prevailed upon him to abstain from attacking Pondicherry. Accordingly, for the next five months, his ships roved about the Bay, again making several valuable captures. In January 1746, he returned to the Coromandel coast, and in April he died at Fort St. David, and the command devolved upon Capt. Edward Peyton, who on receiving news of the coming of La Bourdonnais, cruised off Negapatam to intercept him.

The squadrons met on 25th June. The English, though inferior in number of ships and men, was a long way the better armed, and in the engagement that followed, did the most

execution. But Peyton, alarmed by the 'quakers', and the paint, thought his opponent too strong, and retired to Trincomallee the next day. La Bourdonnais proceeded to Pondicherry, and unfolded to Dupleix, (who cordially approved of it,) his project for capturing Fort St. George. To clear the way for this, he sallied forth again in search of Peyton, found him off Negapatam on 6th August, and for three days tried in vain to bring him to action. Peyton disappeared, made the best of his way to the Hughly, and nothing could tempt him southwards again.

The intelligence of this desertion reached Madras on 23rd August, and threw the settlement into a state of consternation. Mr. Morse was not prepared to withstand an attack unaided; the Fort contained only 200 effective soldiers, and its sea-face was no better than a garden-wall. His appeal to Anwaroodeen for help was fruitless. Events now followed in quick succession. On 3rd September, the French squadron anchored 12 miles south of Madras, where part of the troops were landed, and marched along the road through San Thomé. On the 4th the remainder of the soldiers disembarked at the spot where the Senate House stands, and worked their way to the Governor's garden-house, which they occupied. On 5th and 6th they constructed batteries there, and at a spot near the present Napier Battery, and on 7th they

opened fire from these, and from their ships. On 8th the Fort was bombarded without intermission, and on 9th two deputies were sent to treat with La Bourdonnais, but he refused their terms, and the firing was resumed. The next morning a capitulation was signed, and at 2 p.m. the white flag of the Bourbons was hoisted on the ramparts, and the garrison and all the English in the town became prisoners of war. It was a sad day for Madras.

The place was now at the mercy of the victors, and three courses were open to them: to occupy it, to destroy it, or to yield it up for a ransom. La Bourdonnais chose the last, and fixed the sum at 40 lacs of rupees—besides 4 lacs privately for himself. Dupleix and his Council held quite another view; they aimed at driving the English out of India altogether. Consequently, for the next six weeks there were disputes which grew warmer every day, and ended in Dupleix sending commissioners to take charge of the town. Upon this La Bourdonnais became defiant, and refused to yield it. Meanwhile shiploads of plunder were sent to Pondicherry, and the monsoon, which La Bourdonnais dreaded, was near at hand. He offered a compromise, namely that the restoration of Madras to the English should be postponed from October to January. Dupleix would not hear of it. And then an event happened which put an end to disputations. On the night

of the 2nd October, a furious cyclone came on, which almost completely destroyed the French fleet. One of their ships went down with 1,200 men on board; two others underwent the same fate; the rest were dismasted or otherwise seriously damaged, and a large quantity of prize cargo was ruined. La Bourdonnais had now to exert himself in the repair of the shattered remnants, and refused to wait any longer at Madras. He assembled the Englishmen, signed with them the treaty of capitulation on his own terms, washed his hands of further responsibility, and sailed away. He arrived at Port Louis in December, and on his way home, was captured and sent to London, where he was treated civilly, and soon released. At Paris he was accused by Dupleix's friends of making a secret agreement with the enemy, and thrown into the Bastille, from which he emerged three years afterwards, was declared innocent, and died.

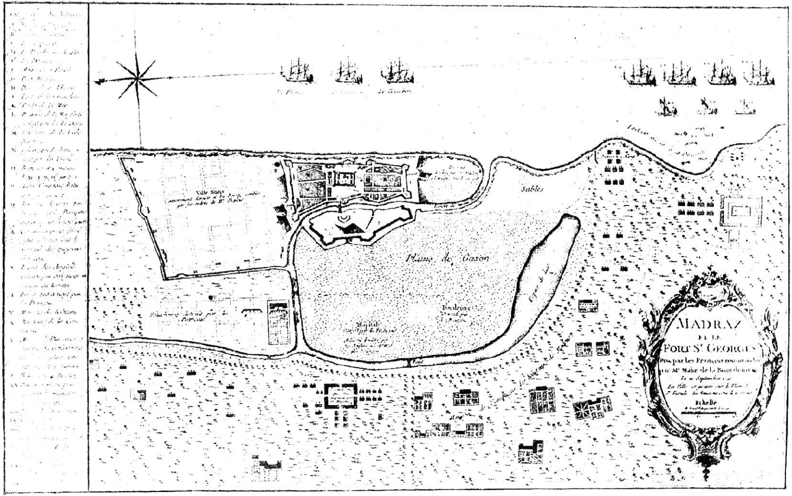
To appease the Nabob, Dupleix had promised to make over Madras to him, and now his son, Maphuz Khan, appeared before the town with an army of 10,000 men, and demanded possession. Dupleix had in the meanwhile, however, absolved himself of his promise, and ordered Despresmenil to hold the place at all hazards. Maphuz Khan, being refused admittance, made preparations for an attack, and commenced by cutting off the garrison's water-supply. Thus provoked, a French

force of not more than 400 men, accompanied by two field-pieces, sallied forth, early on the morning of 22nd October, to the attack. An overwhelming body of cavalry galloped towards them. The French waited until it was within point-blank range, and then discharged the two guns into the mass. Before the enemy could recover from their confusion, the guns were fired a second, a third, and a fourth time. That was enough. Such rapid firing was a new experience to them, and the army abandoning its tents and baggage, fled in haste to Vepery.

Dupleix had meanwhile dispatched from Pondicherry a Swiss officer named Paradis, with 230 Europeans and 700 trained sepoys, to reinforce Despresmenil. They marched along the coast road, *viâ* Sadras and Covelong, and at daybreak on 24th October arrived at the Adyar river. Where the Elphinstone bridge is, there was then an easy ford, but Maphuz Khan had brought up his whole army, and the opposite bank was lined for a great distance with his artillery and infantry. He on his war elephant commanded them near the crossing of Greenway's road. Neither that road nor its prolongation to San Thomé then existed; and Brodie's road was a mere cart-track. His cannon, no doubt, were more dangerous to his own men than to his enemy; the pieces which the French had captured on the 22nd, were so worthless that they had been flung down a well. Never-

theless, this time he was very confident of victory. The battle opened with a furious discharge of the Nabob's artillery. One quarter of an hour was needed before the guns could fire again. In this interval Paradis and his men plunged into the river, waded through it, delivered one volley, and charged. There never was a more speedy or ridiculous defeat. Brodie's road was soon crowded with fugitives, horse and foot being mixed in hopeless confusion. Mylapore, at that time the Mahomedan quarter of San Thomé, had never been seriously fortified, though one can even now trace the positions of its wall and northern gate. Along its narrow streets, and through this gate, the terrified Moormen fled, but only to meet another body of Europeans sent by Despresmenil to co-operate with Paradis. The rout was complete. Across the Choultry plain by ones and twos they fled, nor stopped until they reached Arcot. Maphuz Khan and his elephant had the privilege of escaping early in the day.

All this time the unhappy Englishmen were in the Fort on parole, and helplessly looking on while the Company's merchandize, plate, provisions, stores and horses were being transported to Pondicherry. On 30th October, they were called together and told that La Bourdonnais' treaty was annulled, and that they must choose between being prisoners, or promising not to act against



IN 1746.
(INACCURATE).

the French until exchanged. Mr. Morse and several others were taken to Pondicherry; they were not treated badly, but Dupleix could not resist the opportunity for scenic effect, and their arrival was something like a Roman triumph, witnessed by 50,000 spectators. Amongst the Englishmen at Fort St. George at the time of its capture, were Messrs. Monson, Jones, and Fowke, members of Council; Messrs. Torriano and Hallyburton, free merchants; and Messrs. Maskelyne and Clive, writers. The two last-named did not wait to be made prisoners, but made their escape one night, and got safely to Fort St. David. Robert Clive had arrived at Madras on 31st May 1744. A good deal of fustian has been written about his early life; it is sufficient to say that he was now 21, headstrong, unmanageable, and a thorn in the sides of his elders.

Over the period of the French occupation of Madras it has been customary to draw a veil. Some of the native inhabitants no doubt lamented, and some rejoiced over our defeat. Trade was naturally very much disorganized, but labour was largely employed in making a new rampart and a glacis round the Fort. We are constantly being told that Frenchmen possess a greater power of conciliating Asiatics than we do, and it may be so. The words *boutique* and *billet*, still in common use amongst the Chetties, are the

only reminiscences of our conquerors, and they indicate nothing one way or the other. It is easy to imagine the disgust of the gentlemen in Leadenhall street when they heard of the loss of Madras, the most valuable of their possessions, the favourite and best-behaved of all their settlements; and when they were advised that the calicoes of Salem, Conjeveram and Arnee were being offered freely by the modistes of Paris.

Fort St. David, 12 miles south of Pondicherry, now became the Presidency, and Deputy Governor John Hinde the controller of British interests. It was a small place, but strongly fortified. The native town of Cuddalore did not adjoin it, but was a mile distant further south. To it Dupleix now turned his attention, sending a large body of troops to Ariankuppam preparatory for the attack. The British appealed to the Nabob for help, and he very readily sent a force of 9,000 men under the command of his two sons Maphuz Khan and Mahomed Ali. The French arrived from Ariankuppam on the morning of 9th December, and, fatigued with their march, halted in a garden; and whilst resting and off their guard, were surprised by the Nabob's army. A panic ensued and they fled, leaving their baggage and many of their men behind them. An attempt to surprise Cuddalore by sea was also unsuccessful, and Dupleix revenged himself by destroying some of the Nabob's villages in the neighbourhood

of Madras. Early in January, the French were reinforced by some men from their ships, and Anwaroodeen was persuaded that they were so strong, and the British so weak, that the case of the latter was desperate. He accordingly made peace with Dupleix, and recalled his army from Fort St. David. His attitude now became that of a man watching the quarrel of two terriers, with this great difference: he always favoured the one he thought the strongest.

Nevertheless the cause of Britain was not quite hopeless. On 2nd March, the French appeared again before Fort St. David, but the little garrison marched out, and after a gallant struggle, drove them away. A few hours afterwards some sails were descried in the offing, and proved to be the errant squadron from Bengal, reinforced by two large ships from England under the command of Admiral Thomas Griffin. He had been sent out on receipt of the news of Barnet's death, and had superseded the caitiff Peyton, and sent him home under close arrest. He forthwith reinforced the garrison with 100 soldiers, 150 marines, and 500 sailors. In April, Governor Hinde died, and was succceded by Mr. Charles Floyer. In June, further reinforcements were received from Bombay and Tellicherry, and every ship from England added a few men to the number. The tables were now completely turned, and the British were left unmolested for the remainder of the year.

In January 1748, there landed at Cuddalore, a Major Stringer Lawrence, with a commission to command all the Company's forces in India. He was a stout, hale man of 51, and a soldier of great experience. One of his first acts was to discover that the half-caste wife of Dupleix, known as "Jan Begum," had a correspondent in the garrison; and that the commander of the sepoys had agreed to desert with his men, in the first engagement with the French. Two were hanged, and eleven banished to St. Helena. Lawrence then formed the independent companies of Europeans into a battalion 500 strong, afterwards the famous Madras Fusiliers,—and now the 1st Dublins, who fought so doggedly at the battle of Pieters. In June a French squadron appeared, but Griffin let slip the opportunity of bringing it to action; for which he was subsequently tried and broke. Shortly afterwards the British ships proceeded to Trincomallee, and Dupleix seized the occasion to surprise Cuddalore, but Lawrence was wide-awake and defeated the attempt.

On receipt of the news of the loss of Madras, the Admiralty, at the request of the Company, sent out an expedition against Pondicherry under Admiral Edward Boscawen. It consisted, of six powerful men-of-war, and other vessels, and carried a force of 1,400 men. An attempt to carry Mauritius on the way was unfortunately a failure,

and Boscawen reached Cuddalore on 29th July, 1748. He was now 37 years of age, and had seen much service. In the *Namur*, his present flagship, he had played an important part in Anson's victory off Cape Finisterre, and received a musket ball in the shoulder, which procured for him, amongst his sailors, the nick-name of "Wry-necked Dick." He took over command of the fleet, now 30 sail, from Griffin, and of the land forces from Lawrence, and made immediate preparations to square matters with the French. The Dutch, who were then our friends, contributed a reinforcement of 120 men from Negapatam, and the Nabob unblushingly again changed sides.

Boscawen's first attempt was to take Ariankuppam by assault, and it was a failure. The fort had not been reconnoitred, and was strongly defended ; our loss in killed and wounded was 150. The place was then regularly laid siege to, and its occupants eventually blew it up, and retreated to Pondicherry. But before this happened, Lawrence was taken prisoner during a sortie ; he disdained to fly, and, judging by his portrait, he was likewise too ponderous a man to do so. The siege of Pondicherry was then commenced. Ground was broken on 30th August on the north-west side, at the unusual distance of 1,500 yards from the walls. On the day following the besieged made a sortie in strength, and

attacked the trenches; they were repulsed, and the gallant Paradis was slain. Clive, who had previously 'laid down the pen to take up the sword' distinguished himself on this occasion, and a detachment of 150 marines defended the position nobly. Lying prone upon the ground with a bullet in the groin was a youth who was called James Gray, but for whom a smooth face had earned the name of "Molly." Limping painfully to the rear, this marine refused the aid of the regimental surgeon, and at night got a cooly woman to extract the ball and dress the wound. The youth was in truth herself a woman who had been deserted by her husband, and enlisted with the object of finding him. Her real name was Hannah Summs. Romance demands that for her gallantry she should receive a commission, discover her heartless spouse, press him into the service, and for a period playfully regenerate him by means of wholesome discipline. The real sequel was otherwise. Hannah's sex was not discovered, and she returned to England only to find that Mr. Summs had been hanged. She was paid off, resumed her petticoats, published her story, and became the talk of the town. Her poverty obliged her to appear at Sadler's Wells as the "Female Warrior," and she married again, and kept a public-house of the same name.

With much labour the trenches were advanced within 800 yards of the walls of Pondicherry,

where further progress was stopped by a morass. On 26th September 1748, fire was opened from the British batteries and ships, but Dupleix made a determined and successful defence. Our failure was attributed mainly to the stupidity of our engineers, but we lost in action and by sickness no less than 1,065 Europeans. The monsoon was at hand, and on 3rd October Boscawen decided to abandon the siege. His dejection was increased by the loss in a cyclone of the *Namur*. The game was now two-love,—but at that point news arrived that the war was over, and by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Madras was to be restored to England.

The peace left both the French and the English with a large number of trained soldiers, European and native, for which neither had any immediate use. It seemed a pity to waste them, and the native powers were in need of mercenaries. Devicottah, at the mouth of the Coleroon, had been coveted by the English, and now a claimant to the throne of Tanjore came forward, and offered it to them if they would help him to obtain his rights. An expedition was accordingly sent to Devicottah under a Captain Cope; it is not known whether he was related to the famous Johnny Cope, but he was as blundering, and returned to Fort St. David. Lawrence was then sent to wipe out the reverse, and he took the place by storm. Upon this occasion Robert Clive

again distinguished himself greatly, both by his courage and presence of mind. Eventually the reigning rajah sought and obtained the alliance of the English.

In the meantime very important events had been taking place in Hyderabad. Nizam-ul-mulk died in 1748, and in accordance with the custom of the country, left a number of sons to dispute the succession. One of these, named Nazir Jung, seized the throne, and cast three of his brothers into prison ; but a nephew named Mozuffer Jung, escaped him, and joined Chanda Sahib, who was still a captive of the Mahrattas, and still a claimant to the Nabobship of Arcot. Dupleix now ransomed Chanda Sahib, and the two pretenders raised a large force and march southwards. At Amboor they were met by Anwaroodeen, whom they defeated and left dead upon the field, and gaining Arcot, Chanda Sahib was there proclaimed Nabob. He and Mozuffer Jung then proceeded to Pondicherry, where they were most cordially received by Dupleix. Anwaroodeen's son, Mahomed Ali, had escaped at the battle of Amboor, and fled to Trichinopoly, and Dupleix urged the pretenders to go there at once and finish him off. But he omitted to notice that his friends were very short of the money necessary for such an undertaking, and apparently they had reasons for not mentioning the subject. They proposed to take Tanjore on the way, and supply their deficiency

out of the coffers of the old rajah there. The latter knew that he was powerless to resist their forces, so he agreed to pay them a ransom. He was wily enough however to delay doing so as long as he possibly could. First, several weeks were wasted in fixing the amount of the subsidy, and then he began paying it in jewels, gold and silver plate, and obsolete coins, about the values of which there were long altercations. His tactics were successful, for before the counting was over, Nazir Jung arrived with a large army. Mozuffer Jung surrendered himself, and was imprisoned, while Chanda Sahib fled to Pondicherry. Mahomed Ali was appointed Nabob.

Dupleix now made great use of his superfluous soldiers. They took the Nizam's fort at Masulipatam, defeated Mahomed Ali at Tiruvadi, and captured the strong fortress of Gingee; and at last aroused Nazir Jung from the sybaritic pleasures he had given himself up to at Arcot, and caused him to take the field again. It was now that Jan Begum showed herself a really good wife to Dupleix. While he was occupying Nazir Jung with pacific proposals, she entered into secret correspondence with some of the Nizam's officers, and induced them to turn traitors. A small force was then sent out from Pondicherry to the attack. Nazir Jung seems to have had a suspicion of what was about to happen, for near his elephant was another upon which

was seated Mozuffer Jung, with an executioner at his back, ready to cut off his head at a short notice. Those must have been very anxious moments for the prisoner. The conspirators approached; the Nizam, realizing the situation, gave the signal, and the executioner's sword was uplifted. But before it could descend, a bullet went through the heart of Nazir Jung. His nephew's chains were at once removed, and amidst the acclamations of the troops he was proclaimed Nizam. Mahomed Ali, who was in the camp, fled again to Trichinopoly at top speed. This happened in October 1750. Game two-one, France leads.

Dupleix was not ashamed to order a "Te Deum" for this assassination, nor to found a city upon the spot where it took place. The new Nizam heaped honours and rewards upon him, and Chanda Sahib was appointed Nabob of the Carnatic once more. Mozuffer Jung then, with his enormous army, and a detachment of French troops under the command of Bussy, turned his face towards his capital, where however he was not destined to arrive. In February 1751, he was slain by one of the conspirators, and Bussy, without hesitation, saluted his uncle, Salabut Jung as his successor.

These revolutions were very bewildering to the Governor and Council of Fort St. David. Mr. Floyer had been dismissed the service, and

replaced by Mr. Thomas Saunders from Vizagapatam. Lawrence had joined Nazir Jung's camp at Arcot, but had found him so unsatisfactory to deal with, that he had withdrawn with his troops. And seeing that the civil servants at Fort St. David would interfere in military details, he had resigned, and sailed for England in October 1750. Meantime poor Mahomed Ali was being besieged in Trichinopoly by Chanda Sahib and the French. He was so hard pressed as to propose conditions of surrender to Dupleix, which the latter accepted. At the same time he appealed despairingly to the Mysoreans and the Mahrattas ; and to Mr. Saunders, who at last determined to espouse his cause. Saunders was stimulated to this resolve by seeing a number of white flags which Dupleix had planted in the fields to denote them French possessions ; and some of these flags were in British territory. Mahomed Ali's affairs were certainly in a very tattered condition. Tinnevelly had revolted ; Madura was held for Chanda Sahib ; a chief of Mysore had arrived with his army, but, with the rajah of Tanjore, was holding aloof, to see whether the French or the British would get the upper hand. And the British were far outnumbered. If Chanda Sahib captured Trichinopoly, their existence in the Carnatic would be blotted out. At least all the historians say so. But it is known to this generation that the British are pushed into the sea with some difficulty.

In Lawrence's absence, Captain Gingens was the senior officer at Fort St. David, and in May 1751, he set out from there with a strong force and captured Vridachellum. Thence he marched to Volcondah, where he was badly defeated by Chanda Sahib's men aided by the French, and retreated to Trichinopoly, within which strong fortress was Mahomed Ali, his revenues and resources cut off by the enemy. The French entrenched themselves on the island of Srirangam, while Chanda Sahib encamped on the east of the town. The Mahratta, Mysore, and Tanjore armies were hovering around like jackals, waiting to tear the defeated side to pieces. For a long while nothing decisive took place, but the affairs of the English and their ally did not prosper. In July, a small reinforcement was sent to them from Fort St. David, under the command of Mr. Pigot and Captain Clive. On Clive's return, he told the Governor that he did not at all approve of the way Gingens was doing things, and begged to be allowed to go to Madras, and from there make an attack upon Arcot, which he was sure would draw off Chanda Sahib's army from Trichinopoly. Clive was a quondam Civilian, and Mr. Saunders listened to him. Mr. Richard Prince, the Deputy Governor of Fort St. George, gave him all the assistance in his power, and on the 26th August 1751, Clive set out with 200 Europeans, 300 Sepoys, and 8 Officers, most of

whom were young writers who had never seen a shot fired. He had got what he had long pined for, an independent command.

Along the Poonamallee road (which, beyond the sixth milestone, is much the same now as it was then) the little detachment marched, and arrived at Conjeveram on 29th August. Learning there that Arcot had a garrison of 1,100 men, Clive wrote to Mr. Prince for a couple of 18-pounders, and proceeded on his way. On the 31st, a violent thunder-storm came on, which naturally enough did not stop his progress; but for want of a better excuse, the garrison seized upon this one for considering his force irresistible, and abandoned the fort, which he immediately took possession of. He fortunately found in it sufficient guns and ammunition for his purpose, and with the utmost energy prepared to defend himself. The enemy were very soon reinforced from Trichinopoly and Vellore, and entered the adjoining city, but Clive dislodged them; they attempted to storm the fort, but he repulsed them. Always opposed to immensely superior numbers, he never failed to win victory, and at last, after fifty days of incessant fighting, the siege was abandoned, and the enemy fled in confusion. That was on 14th November 1751. A few days afterwards Clive, reinforced from Madras, and joined by a small body of Mahratta horsemen, took the field, captured several of the Nabob's forts, drove

the French out of Conjeveram, and returned to Madras; whence he went to Fort St. David to report to Mr. Saunders.

Dupleix in the meanwhile had dispatched a force to help Chanda Sahib's general in North Arcot, and they ravaged the country all around Poonamallee, and plundered the Englishmen's houses at St. Thomas' Mount. So, in February 1752, Clive returned to Fort St. George, raised a force of 380 Europeans, 1,300 Sepoys, with 6 field-pieces, and marched to Vandalur. From that place, however, the enemy had disappeared, and gone to Conjeveram. Clive followed, took Conjeveram, and proceeded towards Arcot; but at Cauverypauk he was surprised. The enemy with 2,500 horse, 2,000 Sepoys, 400 Europeans, and a large train of artillery suddenly opened fire upon him, with terrible effect. But Clive was unperturbed. It was a moon-light night, and he sent a detachment by a large circuit, to take the enemy's guns in the rear. This manœuvre was entirely successful, and what had threatened to be a defeat, was converted into a magnificent victory; 9 field-pieces and 60 European prisoners were captured. A day or two afterwards he received orders to bring his army to Fort St. David, and on the way there they razed to the ground all that had been erected of the city of Dupleix-Fatiabad. Game three-all. On 14th March 1752, Lawrence returned from

England, and resumed the chief command. The grim old warrior must have smiled when they told him of the doughty deeds of his pupil, aged 26.

It was high time for something to be done at Trichinopoly, where, in spite of the diversion at Arcot, Mahomed Ali and the English force under Gingens, had been hemmed in for seven months. Lawrence forthwith went there at the head of 1,500 men, taking Clive with him. How he established himself at Elmiseram and Sugar-loaf rock ; how he harrassed the French, commanded by Law on Srirangam island ; how he sent Clive to intercept Law's communications with Pondicherry ; how Clive captured d'Auteuil and his whole force at Volcondah ; how Chanda Sahib seeing the game was up, surrendered to the Tanjore general, and was cruelly murdered ; how Law and his army also surrendered ; how Dupleix himself assumed the Nabobship ; how the French were reinforced and defeated the English at Gingee ; how Lawrence defeated the Kerjean at Bahoor ; how in his absence Captain John Dalton bravely continued the defence of Trichinopoly ; how Lawrence's plans for prosecuting the war were constantly frustrated by Mr. Saunders and his Council—there is not room in this sketch to relate.

But it must be mentioned that when the cause of Mahomed Ali was triumphant, it was discovered, to the amazement of Lawrence, that the eccentric

nobleman had promised the possession of Trichinopoly and its dependencies to the Mysoreans, as a reward for their assistance. That the Mysore chief, supported by the Mahrattas, claimed the reward; and that Lawrence recommended its cession, but the Council would not hear of it. That Jan Begum's pen again went to work, and the Mysoreans and Mahrattas went over to the French. That the siege was resumed, and the war dragged on through 1752 and 1753, without a decisive victory on either side. That the vale of the Coleroon witnessed deeds of endurance and valour, which have never been surpassed. That Lawrence was without cavalry, while the enemy had the aid of the Mysore horse, led by a general named Hyder Ali; but that Lawrence showed them, that when the Madras Sepoy stands side by side with British Infantry, he takes a lot of beating. That other English youths besides Clive, supported their brave old chief; and the names of Calliaud, Kilpatrick, Dalton, Polier and Joseph Smith obtained a high renown.

Dupleix stretched his arm far beyond the Carnatic. Bussy, the ablest of his generals, was all this while in the Deccan, acting as guardian and guide to Salabut Jung, whom he had placed upon the throne. Hand in hand they defeated their opponents, and eventually the Nizam ceded to the French, as a reward for their assistance, a

large part of that rich country which borders on the sea, and is known as the Northern Circars. The game was now five-all, and the friends of both sides in Europe stepped in and said it must be stopped. As long as it continued they got no dividends, and saw no prospect of any. So a conference was arranged for, and held at Sadras in January 1754; a more difficult one it would be hard to imagine. The British insisted that Mahomed Ali should be recognized as Nabob of the Carnatic; the French that Salabut Jung should be acknowledged as supreme feudal lord, with of course the right of appointing his own Nabob. Then each side called for the titles of the other, and a long wrangle ensued. The patent on which the British chiefly depended, viz., Mahomed Ali's appointment from the Great Mogul, was at Trichinopoly. That upon which the French placed most reliance, was a letter from the Great Mogul to Dupleix. The English deputies came to the conclusion that this was not a genuine document;—perhaps they suspected the industrious lady who resided at Pondicherry. At any rate the negotiations were broken off, and the struggle renewed, but not for long. In August 1754, Mr. Godeheu, a Director of the French Company, arrived at Pondicherry, and took over the administration. He communicated at once, in a friendly spirit with Mr. Saunders, and on 11th October, a suspension of arms was agreed to. In

December a treaty was concluded, whereby the two nations were to be confirmed in their respective possessions, to share peaceably the commerce of Southern India, and to unite in repelling attacks from others. The recognition of Mahomed Ali was left an open question.

The grand schemes of Dupleix were thus demolished. He sailed for Europe on 14th October 1754, accompanied by his faithful wife. He was a ruined man, and the efforts which he subsequently made to recover from his employers part of the large sums which he had expended on their behalf, were not successful. He died at Paris on 10th November 1764, in poverty, and unmerited disgrace.

CHAPTER IV.

SIEGES, AND COOTE BAHADUR.

The red flag of St. George floated once more over the ramparts of the Fort on 21st August 1749, when Admiral Boscawen took possession. The place was much changed. The western wall had been demolished, and the channel of the Cooum beyond it, dammed up. Bastions and curtains were erected on the further side. The rich Armenian quarter on the north had been cleared away, and a glacis formed with the debris of the houses. The spot where the light-house now stands had become the south-east corner of Black Town. There was nothing of any value left in the garden-houses.

Until the return of the Government from Fort St. David on 5th April 1752, Madras was under a Deputy Governor, Mr. Richard Prince, who must have had hard work to get things into order again. Many of the wealthy traders had fled up-country, and the weavers' work was hindered by the deficient supply of cotton and yarn. However business was resumed in the old premises, and the Directors at home were impatient for its resumption. "As hostilities have ceased,"

they wrote, "our ships must be dispatched directly home to us after the 17th of October next, in the usual manner before the commencement of the war; by directing the Commanders to proceed to our Island of St. Helena, and after refreshing there for a few days, to make the best of their way to the Downs."

The Governors of the Presidency in the new era were:—

Mr. John Hinde	... 1747	died at Fort St. David.
Mr. Charles Floyer	... 1747—50	
Mr. Thomas Saunders	... 1750—55	
and Mr. George Pigot	... 1755—63	

In the reign of Queen Anne gambling had been common in London, but under the Georges it assumed gigantic proportions. The coffee-houses (especially White's) were the head-quarters of the vice, but wherever half-a-dozen people of fashion found themselves together, the box was sure to be rattling, and the cards to be shuffled and cut. It has been already shown that the patriarchal age at Madras was over, and less restraint was imposed upon the juniors; one of these who joined the service at Fort St. David in 1746, was a bright specimen of the giddy youth of the period. His name was Henry Vansittart, and his father was one of the Directors, and a man of great wealth. This boy of barely 15, had been a member of the Franciscans of Medmenham,—probably the most profane and dissolute club that ever existed. He was an expert

at basset, piquet, and whist; and at that time, part of the education in card-playing was to teach all the known forms of sharping. In less than five years Vansittart went home with a large fortune, which he dissipated in riotous living. The well-known incident in Clive's life when he refused to pay money lost at the card-table, to players who were proved to have cheated, occurred at Fort St. David. But Vansittart and he were close friends. The following is an extract of a letter from the Court of Directors, dated 12th January 1749:—

> "The intimations we received last year that a sprit of gaming prevail'd among our servants at Fort St. David have to our great concern prov'd too true, and we have undoubted assurances that it has been conniv'd at and practised by Mr. Floyer and many of our superior servants to such a degree as almost to engross their whole time and attention, hence in a great measure the extravagant expence of your settlement are to be accounted for, as well as the general neglect and want of order in every Branch of our affairs, to remedy which a change of Hands is become absolutely necessary, we therefore order and Direct that Mr. Floyer and Mr. Holt be immediately dismissed from the Company's service."

And so Mr. Thomas Saunders was called to take the President's chair. He was a man of firm determination, and deserves much credit for his resolute opposition to Dupleix. Henceforward the Governor and Council had many things to occupy their time and attention besides the management of the Company's investments, and the administration of the White and Black Towns. The policy

of non-intervention was no longer possible, the interests of the British being bound up with those of Nabob Mahomed Ali. Out of gratitude the latter remitted the rent of the settlement, and conceded to them San Thomé and Poonamallee.

On 16th February 1753, Captain Robert Clive was married at St. Mary's Church to Miss Mary Maskelyne, sister of his friend Edmund Maskelyne; and soon afterwards embarked with her for England, where he was accorded an enthusiastic reception, and became the lion of the season. The Court of Directors voted him a sword of honour, set with diamonds, and he was promoted to the rank of Colonel. In the spring of 1755, he left England again with re-established health, and arrived at Bombay on 27th November.

Meanwhile, another war with France was in prospect, and Admirals Charles Watson, and George Pocock had arrived on the Coromandel coast, with a small squadron, in anticipation of orders to attack Pondicherry. Mr. Saunders embarked for Europe on 14th January 1755, and was succeeded by Mr. George Pigot. On 21st August, the Nabob made his state entry into Arcot, attended by a deputation from his allies, consisting of Major Lawrence, Mr. Palk, and Mr. Walsh; and on 30th, he arrived at Madras, where he was welcomed with great ceremony by the Governor and the two admirals. He gave the Company an assignment of the revenues of Trichinopoly, to

recoup them for their expenses in the war, and then set out with a strong force, under the command of Major Kilpatrick, to collect those revenues.

In October, the squadron sailed for Bombay, and being joined there by Clive, proceeded in February 1756, to destroy Gheriah, the fortress of the pirate Angria. Which purpose being accomplished, the ships returned to this coast, and on 26th June, Clive assumed office as Deputy Governor of Fort St. David. On 16th August, the appalling news of the capture of Calcutta, and the tragedy of the Black Hole reached Madras. It created unparalleled horror. Mr. Pigot immediately summoned Clive, and an avenging expedition was quickly equipped, and sailed on 16th October, under the command of Watson. It was the first of many expeditions sent out from Fort St. George. One of its components was the King's 39th regiment of foot, which had landed at Fort. St. George in January 1756.—*Primus in Indis*—and numbered among its officers a captain, 30 years of age, named Eyre Coote. In due course intelligence was received of each brilliant achievement of the heroes from Madras, and of the crowning victory of Plassy, on 23rd June 1757, which laid the foundation of the Indian Empire.

Pigot was four years junior to Clive in age, though his senior by seven years in the service. They had been sent together from Fort St. David

to Trichinopoly in 1751, and were very intimate. The correspondence between them shows how eager the civilian was that the soldier should return, for serious dangers now threatened Madras, and although reinforcements were expected from home, the place was in the meantime almost denuded of troops. News had arrived of the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in Europe. Bussy was playing havoc in Vizagapatam, and Clive had sent Kilpatrick there with what men he could spare. Captain Calliaud had succeeded to the command of the force which was with the Nabob, and was now besieging Madura. M. d'Auteuil had attacked Captain Joseph Smith at Trichinopoly, and Pigot had sent every man he could spare to the latter's relief. A French force under Saubinet in the meanwhile occupied Wandewash and burned Conjeveram. Lawrence was ill. In April 1758, a French fleet arrived at Pondicherry with a large force under Count de Lally, and the Governor and Council of Fort St. George realized that they would very shortly have to face the music.

Lally was a man of 58. He had seen much service in Europe, and earned distinction at the battle of Fontenoy. He was a favorite of Louis XV., and Marshal Saxe, and a *beau sabreur* of the day. By the greatest good luck he had hot Irish blood in his veins, and was as impetuous and wanting in discretion as a cannon-ball. He came

out as Commander-in-Chief and Commissary of the King for all the French possessions in the East. On the evening of his arrival he dispatched a force to Cuddalore, which surrendered almost at once. Fort St. David, of which Mr. Alexander Wynch was Deputy Governor, quickly followed suit. This was a brilliant commencement. Admiral Pocock, who had succeeded to the chief naval command on Watson's death, brought his squadron to Madras in March. Reinforced there by Commodore Charles Steevens, he fell in with the French squadron under Count d'Aché on 29th April, and drove it off. On 3rd August, he again brought it to action with an indecisive result, and d'Aché retired to Mauritius and Pocock to Bombay, to avoid the monsoon. Without d'Aché's assistance Lally had to postpone his visit to Madras, and being informed that it was the usual thing for those in want of money to visit the rajah of Tanjore, he proceeded there, plundering Nagore on the way. But the rajah made an energetic defence, and after wasting six weeks, Lally returned to Pondicherry. Here he was not popular; his furious temper and total disregard for caste prejudices had brought upon him the hatred of both the natives and his own countrymen. They were all anxious for his departure to Madras. Bussy arrived in obedience to his command, but most unwillingly, and was appointed Brigadier of the force amounting

to 2,000 European infantry, 300 cavalry and 5,000 sepoys. And early in November the march was begun.

Upon the news of what Clive called "the infamous surrender of St. David", Pigot called in the garrisons of Arcot, Chingleput and Karangoly. but on 14th September Col. William Draper with part of the King's 79th regiment, had landed at Madras, and he was sent to Wandewash, while Lawrence took post with another battalion at St. Thomas' Mount. Calliaud and 250 men advanced from Trichinopoly, and Mahomed Yusuf with 2,000 sepoys, was on the way. 500 Mahratta horse who were at Tirupati, were hired to help. As the enemy approached, Draper was ordered to fall back on the Mount. On 9th December, Lally's army came within sight of the Mount, and that evening Lawrence withdrew all his troops by the Irish bridge across the Adyar, through Saidapet, and encamped somewhere near where the Government bakery is. On the 11th, he retreated as far as the bit of road between the Vizianagram fountain and Government bridge, but before doing so he cut the bund of the Long Tank, and swamped the cart-track, for it was nothing more.

Let us join the detachment with their backs to the Cooum, and try to imagine what the scene around them was like. To their left was the compound of the Governor's new garden-house

enclosed by a wall bending round towards Chepauk as it does now, but with an entrance opposite to where the fountain is. From this entrance a narrow lane led straight to the lower drive through Government house compound. Next, the road leading through Triplicane to San Thomé; that was the main road, and on each side of it there was a thin border of native dwellings, betel-gardens, and other enclosures. In front of them open country—open as the country beyond Vellachery is to-day, and very similar. Every building between us and the Cathedral road must be brushed away from the mind. To the right front was a lane, which a short distance further on bent southwards. It is the Mount road to-day, but it was quite a country lane at that time. Down by the river near the Harris bridge, there were a few European bunglows; but from these away back to the Government bridge, not a building of any kind whatever, On the ground where Messrs. Simpson, Oakes. Nicholas, Orr, Syed Cassim and others carry on their various business, and far behind, there were only tanks and cocoanut palms. Further to the right was Chindadrepet, the village of weavers.

It should not be supposed that the enemy came thundering along the well-known thoroughfare, with the speed and determination of a modern field battery arriving to take part in a ceremonial parade. By no means. Lally's guns were drawn

by teams of labouring bullocks, impelled to their work with blows and uncomplimentary epithets. They regulated his pace; and though he left the Mount before day-break on 12th December, it was noon ere his main body debouched upon the Choultry plain. Early in the day however, his European cavalry had made a circuit to their right, (round the back of the Club) and appeared unexpectedly in front of Lawrence's advanced post, (which was in Waller's yard),—but were driven off. A cannonade now commenced from both sides, and when the enemy were within 1,000 yards, Lawrence resumed his retreat through Chindadrepet, forded the river opposite the present Penitentiary, and marching past the Governor's former garden-house, now an hospital, retired into the Fort. 500 sepoys had slipped out of Poonamallee during the night, and came in by the north of Black Town. And the Nabob, with 200 horse, had also escaped from the town and got in. The garrison now numbered 1760 European soldiers, 150 civilians, and 2,220 sepoys. The defence was entrusted to Pigot, but he was recommended to consult Lawrence in everything.

Lally occupied the Governor's new house and the neighbouring bungalows. Early in the morning of 14th December, he led his army across the river where Lawrence had forded it, through Vepery and Veysarpadi, and entered Black Town

on the western and northern sides, where his troops at once commenced to plunder. Thousands of natives then fled from their houses to the glacis, and implored for admittance to the Fort, but were refused. As they reported that the French soldiers were getting gloriously drunk with arrack, it was resolved to make a sally before they could recover. Draper accordingly moved out with 500 men and two field pieces. He left the Fort by St. George's gate, and marched direct to the south end of Devaraja Mudali street, which he traversed as far as its junction with China Bazaar street. There he caught sight of the Lorraine regiment, which had come down Mint street, and he opened fire on them with grape. Then he advanced towards their guns, and exchanged a pistol shot with the officer who offered to surrender them. But the French rallied, and getting under cover of some old walls, poured a deadly fire upon our men. The latter fell into confusion, and Draper deemed it advisable to order a retreat. Eighty men of the 79th, who were defending themselves in a small square, (where a temple-car now stands), and did not hear the order, were surrounded and taken prisoners.

During this fight, Bussy had been leading the regiment of Lally along Armenian street, where they too had tasted arrack. There were houses in front of them which protected them from the fire of the Fort, and they managed to

place two guns in position on the spot where the Law College stands; but the gunners were two much intoxicated to serve them properly, and Draper's force retreated unharmed across the Ordnance lines, and got back into the Fort through the old Middle gate. Our loss was 4 officers and 50 men killed, 5 officers and 50 men wounded, and 103 men captured. The losses on the other side were about the same.

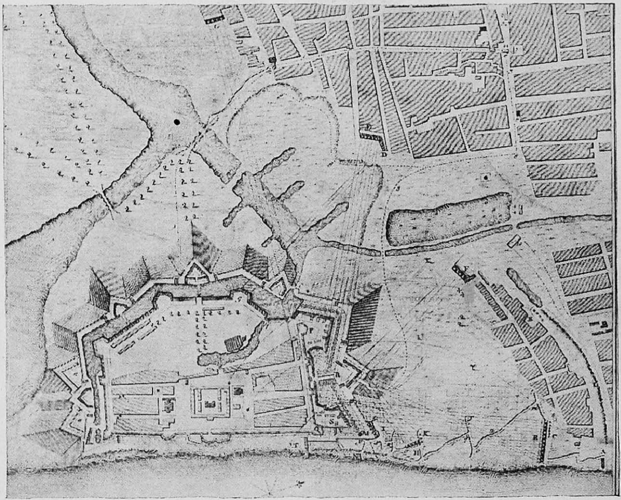
The next day the French began the preparation of their batteries. The most formidable was a little to the south of Parry's corner, and became known as Lally's; some houses hid it from the Fort. The next in importance was close to the Memorial Hall, and was called the Lorraine. The third was at the hospital, and the fourth just behind the old burial ground, where a small spire marks the tomb of Elihu Yale's son. Besides these there were two mortar battaries on the present Esplanade. There was a long delay before the guns and their ammunition arrived. The monsoon was blowing hard from the north, and a strong current running southwards, so that the ships from Pondicherry made show progress. San Thomé was occupied by a strong force under Soupire, and most of the artillery was landed there, and brought on to Black Town either by road or in boats.

The investment was never a close one, and the Nabob and his family were without difficulty put

on board a Dutch vessel and taken to Negapatam. Sallies were made unopposed into Chindadrepet and Triplicane; some valuable information was obtained thereby, but the enemy's communications with San Thomé were not seriously impeded. The construction of their batteries was retarded by our fire as much as possible, but at daybreak on 2nd January, Lally's and the Lorraine opened. During the day they threw 80 shells, most of which fell into the middle of the Fort, and though nobody was killed or wounded, they did considerable damage to the buildings. In the night a number of women and children were put into three masula boats and sent to Sadras, where they found the French in possession, and were made prisoners. The boats were loaded with ammunition, and sent back to Madras in charge of three soldiers; but the boat-men cleverly seized these, and landed the cargo at the sea-gate. It must be borne in mind that at that time the surf was not more than 50 yards away from the eastern wall of the Fort. By the 8th January, all the siege guns and mortars were at work night and day, and the garrison were kept busily employed firing upon the batteries, and repairing the walls and parapets. What chiefly occupied their attention however, was the zig-zag which was being pushed forward from Lally's battery to the north-east corner of the glacis. The sappers were subjected to an incessant musketry fire from the

covered way, but nevertheless the work progressed, and on the 20th, it reached the ridge of the glacis. Shortly before sunset, a small party sallied out of the sea-gate, seized the trench, and held it long enough for pioneers to destroy the lodgment; but had to retire before a superior force, and the approach was resumed. It was the work of French sepoys, and did them infinite credit.

In advancing from Conjeveram to Vandalur, Lally had left the fort of Chingleput unmolested, and Captain Preston, who was in command there, now found himself in a position to divert the enemy. At the end of December, he was joined by Mahomed Yusuf, who had brought up the Company's sepoys from Trichinopoly, and had some successful skirmishes on the way. Mr. Pigot wished them to try to surprise SanThomé. A strong French force sent from Black Town attacked them at the Mount, but was driven back to Saidapet, and retreated to San Thomé. Meanwhile Preston got news of another force advancing from Covelong, with a large quantity of stores; so he and Mahomed Yusuf marched to intercept it, and encamped at a viliage close to the Lattice bridge. They had nearly 5,000 men with them. On the night of 2nd January, Soupire marched out from Mylapore with all his Europeans, 650 horse and foot, and fell upon the Mussulman's camp before daylight. The surprise was complete, and the native troops fled from the localty as fast as their



IN 1759.

legs would carry them. But while the Frenchmen were occupied in plundering the camp, they were in their turn surprised by Preston, who collected his forces, and swept the ground with grape and musketry fire. The enemy broke in confusion, and returned to Mylapore. After this Preston retired to Vandalur, where he was again joined by Mahomed Yusuf. Their forces were weakened by numerous desertions, so they decided to march towards Arcot, in the hope of getting assistance from the Mahrattas, and the Nabob's brother; which they were partly successful in doing. On the morning of 2nd February, the look-out in the steeple of St. Mary's Church saw them advancing in the plain, five miles north-west of the Fort. Lally at once took out a detachment to oppose them. Preston held his own during the day, but being short of provisions, retired westwards towards the evening. Thus the only attempts at relief, though gallantly made, were fruitless.

Meanwhile the zig-zag along the sea-shore was not only being persistently extended, but considerably strengthened, and on 23rd January, a battery of 4 embrasures was opened on the east of the glacis; our defences on the west being all the time occupied with the Lorraine and hospital batteries. The possibility of an attempt at an escalade on the sea-face, necessitated great vigilance also in that direction; from the south the only danger

was a two-gun battery, erected exactly where the Marine villa now stands. It fired shells, but did little damage. The industry of the enemy was great however, and called for the constant exertions of the defenders. Mr. Pigot made a tour of the positions daily, giving all the encouragement in his power; and promised that Rs. 50,000 would be distributed amongst the men the day after the siege was raised. He was now able to cheer their spirits with the news that help was not far off. Pocock's fleet had left Bombay upon the last day of the old year; it might appear in sight any morning. And on 30th January, at 11 in the forenoon, a sail was descried to the southwards. She proved to be the *Shaftsbury*, which had out-sailed her companions. She replenished the stock of military stores and treasure, but the men she carried were invalids. The landing was effected safely, though Lally's and the Marine villa batteries paid the ship a good deal of attention, as she lay there beside the outer surf.

And still that sap went on, and on 1st February, a breaching battery of 6 guns was opened close to the north-east bastion. The enemy had sprung a mine the previous day, but without effect. From the 7th to the 15th, the fire from all the batteries was very hot, and the bastion gradually crumbled away. Major Caillaud had arrived from the south, and joined Preston, and Mahomed Yusuf,

at the Mount. The garrison had seen Lally's troops go out on the 9th, and heard a fight lasting the whole day, ending with the retreat of their relievers to Chingleput. The climax was near. Our countrymen braced themselves for a hand-to-hand conflict.

In the enemy's camp, in spite of their success, there was dejection. Their rations were reduced to a very low ebb; for fifteen days they had subsisted on rice and ghee, and their ammunition had almost run out. Only Lally was buoyant, and he was too unpopular to impart his enthusiasm to his officers. He determined to deliver the assault; they told him it would be a march to certain death; and they were probably right. Nevertheless, he decided that if his officers refused to follow, he would trust to his men, and wait only for the wane of the moon on the night of 16th February. But on the afternoon of that day, Pocock's fleet anchored in the roads. And the next morning the trenches were empty, and the French in full march away towards the Choultry plain.

It was a bold and strenuous attack. It was a brave and gallant defence; and though in the course of years the recollection of it has got faded, and the old Fort is referred to to-day in disparaging terms, as one speaks of a beldame who in the heyday of her youth was beautiful, the resistance it made is something for British still to be proud

of. And the names of our sires should not be forgotten. Among these Pigot and Lawrence stand foremost; other prominent civilians being Robert Palk, Henry Vansittart, and Alexander Dalrymple. The Chief Engineer, John Call, was one of eight young writers who had been taught their craft by Benjamin Robins; under his orders were Lieutenants Leigh, Catsford, Eiser and Stevenson. Upon them devolved the duty of keeping the defences in the best condition, and the construction of the numerous additional works called for. The King's Artillery was commanded by Captain Hislop, and the Company's by Captain Robert Barker. 31 out of the 32 pieces of cannon found in the enemy's batteries, had been disabled by the guns on the walls. A regiment named the 79th foot, had been raised by Col. Draper in England in 1757, but only a part of it was with him. Major Brereton was one of his officers. The command comprised the few men of the 64th foot. The sepoys showed characteristic devotion for the service. The Company's troops were led by officers inured to warfare. Of these Major Polier and Captain Hume were killed at the first sortie. The civilians took their full share of the toils and perils of the contest. Our loss in Europeans was 250 killed, including 15 officers, and 167 wounded; and in natives 114 killed and 232 wounded. It is remarkable that neither in

St. Mary's Church nor Cemetery, is there any memorial to those who fell. The French losses are not known.

The inhabitants of Black Town had cause for remembering the occupation, for while it lasted they were plundered mercilessly. Nevertheless, there is no trace now of the event, and the pagoda which Lally converted into a hospital, and where he left 44 of his countrymen to the care of his foes, cannot be identified.

When Bussy was recalled from the Northern Circars, the rajah of Vizianagram wrote to Clive that it was a good opportunity for driving the French out of that province, and Clive jumped at the idea. He at once equipped an expedition of 500 European and 2,000 natives, and dispatched it from Calcutta for Vizagapatam in October 1758. The officer he selected for the command was Francis Forde, formerly of the 39th regiment, but since June a Colonel of the Company's service, and Clive's right-hand man in Bengal. Forde took Vizagapatam without difficulty, and immediately marched against the Marquis de Conflans, Bussy's successor. Him he signally defeated near Rajahmundry, and forced to retire to Masulipatam. Then for seven weeks Forde was greatly embarrassed by want of money, and the insubordination of his European troops. However, he overcame all difficulties, and at midnight on 8th April, with 1,750 men, carried

Masulipatam, and captured its garrison of 2,600. This most brilliant campaign obtained for the British a large slice of the Kistna district.

On his retreat from Black Town, Lally marched direct to the Mount, and blew up Lawrence's bungalow there. As it took only three barrels of powder to do this, we may infer that the simple soldier was content with a dwelling of modest dimensions. Reinforced with Europeans brought by Pocock, he now took the field, and followed the enemy to Conjeveram, and thence to Arcot; but failed to draw him. And in April both Lawrence and Draper, being in bad health, embarked for England, and Brereton, who succeeded to the chief command, laid siege to Wandewash. On 14th April, he suddenly broke up his camp, and withdrew to Conjeveram. Nothing of consequence happened between the armies for some months.

After relieving Fort St. George, Admiral Pocock returned to Bombay to re-fit. In those days, ships needed frequent repairs. At the end of April he was back on this coast, waiting for his old adversary D'Aché, who was expected from Mauritius. But the enemy was not sighted until 2nd September, and that was off Fort St. David. He had eleven strongly armed ships, while Pocock had nine, so they were pretty evenly matched. The battle commenced at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, and before 5, the French hauled out of action.

The British were too much crippled to chase them, and D'Aché arrived at Pondicherry the next day. After landing his stores and reinforcements, he announced his intention of returning to the Islands, and the remonstrances of Lally, Bussy and others could not prevail upon him to stay. On 28th September, Pocock's squadron anchored on the Madras roads, and the sick and wounded were brought ashore. The largest ship, *The Grafton*, was commanded by Captain Richard Kempenfelt, who was afterwards famous for his brilliant victory over the French off Ushant in 1781, and who went down with the *Royal George*. off Spithead, on 29th August 1782.

On 17th October, the monsoon being at hand, Pocock weighed anchor, and the next day fell in with Admiral Samuel Cornish, and four ships of the line, on board of which was Colonel Eyre Coote commanding the 84th foot, which, like the 79th, had been raised expressly for service in India. The troops were at once transferred to the *Queenborough*, which landed them at Madras on 27th October. Coote, as senior King's officer, became Commander-in-Chief, and at once set about his preparations to take the field. Little of interest had occurred during the hot weather. Soupire and Brereton had been watching one another, from Wandewash and Conjeveram respectively. The French held on to Arcot, and a number of other fortresses in that neighbour-

hood. Captain Joseph Smith continued to command at Trichinopoly, and had the Nabob with him, trying to reduce to order the refractory poligars of Madura. Lally and Bussy were leading a cat-and-dog life in Pondicherry, where the former's discomfiture at Madras was a matter of general rejoicing. In September, Brereton, aware that he would soon be superseded, made an attack on Wandewash, which failed. An attempt to surprise Trichinopoly was repulsed by Smith, who then tried unsuccessfully to take Devicottah. On 23rd November, Coote joined the camp at Conjeveram, and a few days afterwards Lally arrived from Pondicherry at Arcot.

On 25th November, the Fort of Wandewash was invested by a detachment under Brereton, and on the 30th it surrendered. On 8th December, Karangoly did the same, and on 10th January 1760, Lally, strongly reinforced by Bussy and the Mahrattas, marched out of Arcot with the intention of retaking Wandewash; and Coote with a very inferior force, determined to prevent him. The fort was commanded by Captain Sherlock, and the enemy's guns opened against it on 20th January. Coote's army arrived early on the 22nd, on the north-east side of the town, and a pitched battle was fought there until 2 o'clock in the afternoon, when the French gave way. They had 2,200 Europeans, and 10,000 natives; we had 1,700 Europeans, and 3,500 natives.

They lost in killed, wounded and prisoners, 1,040; our loss was 193. Bussy was among the captives, and Brereton among the slain.

Coote gave his foe little breathing time. Within a fortnight Chittapet, Timmeri and Arcot surrendered to him; Permacoil, Devicottah, Tirunamalai and Cuddalore soon followed. Karikal was taken by Admiral Cornish on 5th April; and at the end of that month the French had not a foot-hold anywhere in Southern India, excepting Pondicherry and Mahé. In his extremity Lally appealed to the Mysore general, Hyder Ali for help, but the latter finding the condition of the French beyond repair, declined. The sword was now to be driven in to the hilt. The British received frequent reinforcements, while their opponents were without deliverance, and by the end of August Pondicherry was closely blockaded by a large army on shore, and a strong fleet under Admiral Steevens at sea. In November regular siege operations were begun, and on 16th January 1761, Lally, being at the end of his resources, surrendered at discretion. Four days afterwards there arrived a letter from Mr. Pigot, demanding that the place should be delivered over to the Company. This was refused by Coote, in consultation with the admirals, and the Governor thereupon bluntly declined to furnish money for the sustenance of the troops and pri-

soners until his demand was complied with, and Coote was obliged to give way. Pigot then caused the town and fortifications to be levelled with the ground; in a few weeks not a roof was left standing.

Lally was treated courteously by his captors. He was sent from Madras to London, and thence permitted to proceed to Paris on parole. Unwisely, he attempted to expose the conduct of the Pondicherry Council, and of D'Aché, but they and their friends were too many for him, and he was thrown into prison. Three years later he was tried for having betrayed the interests of his country, convicted, and beheaded with cruel barbarity. To speculate what might have happened if the factors of history had been otherwise from what they were, may be profitless, but it is sometimes an interesting occupation. Had France supported La Bourdonnais and Dupleix, it is possible that neither the irresponsible and corrupt Councillors of Pondicherry, nor D'Aché, would have ventured to thwart and hinder Lally in every one of his undertakings. She lost her position in India through not investing her general, at whatever risk, with supreme command. "No one," wrote Coote, "has a higher opinion of Lally than myself. He has fought against obstacles which I believed invincible, and he has conquered them. There is not another man in all India, who could have kept on

foot for the same length of time an army without pay, and receiving no assistance from any quarter." But supposing Fort St. George had not held out, and supposing that Lally had gone on to Bengal, and conquered the British there, as was his intention, would the French have founded an empire? That is very doubtful. They were deficient in the capacity which their rivals for a century had proved, for developing the resources of a country. And without this, conquest is dissipation.

CHAPTER V.

THE NAME "SMITH."

THE contrast between the position of the British in Fort St. George in the year 1746, and the circumstances in which they now found themselves is sufficiently striking. By their victorious arms their protégé had been established in the government of the Carnatic, and become their dependant. His own army was of small importance when pitted against sepoys trained by Europeans. The real power was in the hands of the friends who had gained his country for him, and without it he could not even sustain his government. The impracticable character of the partnership was not so obvious then as it is now. Mahomed Ali looked forward to an absolute rule supported by British arms, while Mr. Pigot was only thinking how he was to get payment of the Compay's little bill for a fifteen years' war, and turn his attention again to the development of their trade. The Nabob's ideas about the value of his kingdom were vague, but he was of a sanguine temperament, and after Coote's victory at Wandewash readily offered to pay the Company 28 lacs per annum in extinguishment of his debt, and 3 lacs per annum

for maintaining a British garrison at Trichinopoly, for as long as it should be requisite. He was a proud man, and desired above all things to retain the dignity and semblance of monarchy. He therefore stipulated that his flag, and not the Company's, should be hoisted in the different Forts; that his local governors and administrators should be obeyed; that English officers were not to interfere in the affairs of the country, or the disputes of the inhabitants; and that the Company should, if required, assist him in the collection of his revenues. To all of which the Governor consented. There was a further stipulation that if Pondicherry was reduced, the Nabob was to bear the whole cost of the siege, in consideration of all the captured stores being made over to him. When it was discovered that these stores had been appropriated by the Company's servants, Mr. Pigot promised to make an equivalent allowance in the account, but this the Directors refused to sanction.

The Governor and Council of Fort St. George were at this time as hopeful about the resources of the country as their friend was, and their treasury being empty they presented him with a demand for 50 lacs on account. The Nabob did not possess such a sum, but having certain objects of his own in view, he borrowed it in the bazaar. Then it became apparent that very little money could be drawn from the surrounding

districts, which had been devastated by the war, and those more remote were in the hands of local commanders who withheld the revenue until forced to give it up. A disgorging process became necessary, and the Company must assist at it. The men whom the Nabob desired to coerce were, Mortiz Ali (murderer of Subder Ali) the Governor of Vellore; the rajah of Tanjore; and the poligar chiefs of Madura and Tinnevelly, known as the Greater and the Lesser Marawars. Not much difficulty was made about Vellore; the Fort was reduced in the hot weather of 1761, but little treasure was found therein. To take stern measures against Tanjore, Mr. Pigot was very reluctant, for he had recognized the rajah as an independent sovereign, although in truth a vassal of the Mogul. Therefore he acted as a mediator, and arranged for the payment of 22 lacs as arrears due to the Nabob, 4 lacs as a present, and 4 lacs annually as tribute. There was no necessity for immediate action in regard to the Southern districts, because they had been leased to that old warrior and friend of the British, Mohamed Yusuf, who was vigorously endeavouring to reduce them to obedience and tranquility.

On 10th February 1763, the war between Britain and France was terminated by the Treaty of Paris, which must have been a great blow to the good people of Madras, for it stipulated that all the factories which the French had possessed

in India at the beginning of 1749, should be restored to them; while it further provided that Mohamed Ali was to be recognized as the lawful Nabob of the Carnatic,—an independent prince, and an ally of England—and Salabut Jung as the lawful Subahdar of the Deccan; and the French engaged not to intrude again into the dominions of either. The news of the treaty reached India in the autumn, and had two immediate effects. Bussy's protégé Salabut Jung had for two years been a prisoner of his younger brother Nizam Ali, and the latter, no longer fearing French intervention, caused him to be murdered. Mr. Pigot, apprehensive of another struggle for predominance, gently constrained the Nabob to concede to the Company a large part of the Chingleput district, yielding a rent of 14 lacs annually. It was for long afterwards known as "the Jaghire."

This was almost the last public act of Mr. Pigot's administration. He embarked for Europe on 14th November 1763, retaining the respect and confidence of Mahomed Ali, who appointed him his agent in England, on a salary of £5,000 a year. Every one must admit that he had piled things rather high upon his nominal sovereign, but his cupidity may have been stimulated by the accounts which had reached him of the plunder which his friend Clive had obtained at Murshidabad. Both the Company and the King

appreciated his services; he was created a Baronet in 1764, and received an Irish peerage in 1766. Mr. Henry Vansittart succeeded Clive as Governor of Bengal in February 1760, so was no longer in the running for Madras, and the next in succession here were—

Mr. Robert Palk	...	1763—67
Mr. Charles Bourchier	...	1767—70
and Mr. Josias Du Pré	...	1770—73

In June 1762, Draper returned from England with the rank of Brigadier-General, and brought with him, not only the news that war had broken out between Britain and Spain, but orders for Admiral Cornish to at once organize an expedition for the capture of Manila. Seven ships of the line and several frigates were accordingly equipped at Madras as soon as possibie, and sailed in August, Draper being in command of the troops. They entered the Bay of Manila on 23rd September; Draper's force was landed on the 25th; the artillery being commanded by Major Robert Barker; and the town was taken by storm on 6th October. Cornish, Draper and Barker received knighthoods for the exploit, and the last named became in 1770, the first Commander-in-Chief of India.

Mr. Robert Palk was now a man of 46. He had come to Madras as the Fort Chaplain in 1751, but renouncing holy orders in the following year, was promoted to the Council in 1753.

His patience and mild disposition caused him to be peculiarly successful in several diplomatic missions, in some of which he had been associated with Stringer Lawrence. The latter had returned from England in October 1761, and was now Commander-in-Chief at Madras, and second in Council to Palk. And the two became united in the bonds of a friendship which were only severed by Lawrence's death twelve years later.

A temporary lunacy at this time took possession of old Mahomed Yusuf, the Governor of the Southern districts. He made an unauthorized invasion of Travancore, collected arms and fortified Madura, and worst of all entirely omitted to send any remittances to the Nabob on account of revenue collected. Lawrence advised immediate action, and a combined force of 9,900 of the Nabob's and the Company's troops was assembled at Trichinopoly, under Colonel George Monson. The Mussulman made a stout resistance, and in November 1763, Monson was forced to raise the siege. Palk and Lawrence then did their best to bring their old scout to terms, but in vain, and the attack was renewed in April 1764, under Major Charles Campbell. During an assault, Major Preston, who fought side by side with Yusuf in 1759, was mortally wounded. At last the deluded veteran was taken, and on 15th October 1764, was hanged as a rebel against the Nabob.

Then Mr. Palk had to interfere in a quarrel

between the Nabob, and the rajah of Tanjore who were bitter enemies. The irrigation of Tanjore depended upon a mound which prevented the waters of the Cauvery, during the south-west monsoon, from falling into the Coleroon, and compelled them to flow southward, and through innumerable channels to promote the cultivation of the Tanjore rice-fields. The prosperity of Tanjore was contingent upon the maintenance of this mound, or calingula, but it was situated in the district of Trichinopoly, which belonged to the Nabob, who not only assumed the right of sovereignty over it, but would permit none but himself to attend to the repairs. Moreover he also claimed the option of neglecting this important work, so that Tanjore was threatened with direful consequences. The dispute lasted a very long time, but in January 1765, Mr. Palk was successful in persuading the Nabob to yield to the rajah the right of repairing the mound; and at last every one was made happy.

Attention must now be turned to the affairs of the Deccan and Mysore, a solution so saturated with intrigues and treachery, battles and sieges, invasions and retreats, turmoil and confusion, as to be very difficult to render clear, in a short story, or even in a long one. It will be best to avoid agitating it here.

Clive left Calcutta in February 1760, and reached England just before George the Third

ascended the throne. An Irish peerage was conferred upon him in 1762, and he was elected a member of the House of Commons. He indulged his fighting propensity by heading the opposition in the Court of Proprietors, to Mr. Lawrence Sulivan, the Chairman of the East India Company. That he was sometimes in lighter vein, is indicated by the following letter to his agent at Madras:—

> "I must now trouble you with a few commissions concerning family affairs. Imprimis, what you can provide must be of the best you can get for love or money; two hundred shirts, the wrist bands worked with a border either in squares or points, and the rest plain; socks, neck-cloths, and handkerchiefs in proportion; three corge of the finest stockings; several pieces of plain and spotted muslin for aprons; book-muslins, cambrics; a few pieces of the finest dimity; and a complete set of table-linen of Fort St. David's made for the purpose."

On 4th June 1764, Lord Clive quitted England to become the first Governor-General of India, and on 10th April 1765—exactly five months after the death of Dupleix his rival—he landed once more at Fort St. George, and spent some days with his old friends Lawrence, Palk, Call, Pybus and Mahomed Ali.

He assumed charge at Calcutta on 3rd May, and on 3rd August, obtained from the Mogul a firman, conceding the Northern Circars to the Company, and rendering the Carnatic independent of the Subahdar of the Deccan. Caillaud was at once sent to take possession of the new province, and upon Lawrence's retirement in April

1766, succeeded to the Commander-in-Chiefship of Madras.

Mahomed Ali objected very much to the acquisition of the Circars, for he knew that it would arouse the resentment of the Subahdar, and wine-besotted though Nizam Ali was, it did so. He made preparations to invade the Carnatic, and Caillaud had to be sent to Hyderabad to negotiate for peace. The result of this was that on 12th November 1766, a treaty was concluded, the principal terms of which were that the Presidency promised to assist the Nizam with their troops, and to pay him an annual tribute of five lacs of rupees for the Circars. The Guntoor Circar, however, was excluded from this arrangement, because it had already been assigned as a jaghire to Basalut Jung, the Nizam's brother, which assignment the Governor and Council of Fort St. George promised to respect. But, although nothing could induce the Nabob to accept the newly acquired territory, he was debited in account with five lacs, which were at once forwarded to Nizam Ali. And in fulfilment of the other promise, a force was sent to Hyderabad under the command of Colonel Joseph Smith.

By this time Hyder Ali had constituted himself ruler of Mysore, and conquered Coimbatore, Calicut and Cochin. He was a power which the Nabob had good reason to dread, and the idea of the latter, and of the English, was to form a

confederacy with the Mahrattas and the Nizam, in the hope of crushing him. The joint forces of the Company and the Nizam moved southwards early in 1767, and about the same time Mr. Palk handed over charge of the administration to Mr. Charles Bourchier. To the latter Colonel Smith reported that he was being employed to collect the Nizam's revenues, and that no reliance should be placed upon the confederacy. But the new Governor preferred the opinions of his brother James Bourchier, who was acting in the capacity of political officer, or field-deputy, with Smith. It was not until May that the allied forces appeared before Bangalore, and then it was discovered that the Mahrattas, instead of co-operating as they promised, had moved on in advance and already exacted a ransom from Hyder. Nizam Ali now threw over his compact, and made a separate treaty with the Mysorean chief, and the English found themselves completely outwitted and duped. Smith was under the necessity of making a rapid retreat before the new allies, who followed him to Jalarpet, while 5,000 Mysore horsemen plundered the country close up to Madras.

The Government of Fort St. George had fallen into the hands of a parcel of imbeciles, but providentially the commander of their forces was a pupil of Lawrence and Clive, and a man of strong character. Joseph Smith, born in 1733,

was the son of an Engineer Officer at Madras. At the time of La Bourdonnais' attack, he was discribed as "one ensign, a very promising youth," and he had subsequently served at Arcot, Trichinopoly and Madura, and commanded a brigade under Coote at the siege of Pondicherry. He was now directed by the Council to assume the command of the forces on the frontier, which then meant approximately, the western boundaries of the North and South Arcot districts. Colonel John Wood, with a corps from Trichinopoly, was ordered to advance to Tirunamalai. On 25th August, the combined armies of Hyder and the Nizam, amounting to 43,000 cavalry, 28,000 infantry and 109 guns, descended the ghats, and attacked Smith, but he repulsed them; and then commenced a retrograde movement to Tirunamalai, where he arrived, after constant fighting, on 4th September, and was joined by Wood on the 8th. The Nabob had promised abundant supplies at the rendezvous, but it was empty, and for the next fortnight Smith was put to the greatest possible straits for provisions. The confederates entrenched themselves, hoping that their famished opponents would eventually be forced to retire to Arcot, when they might be destroyed in detail; meanwhile detachments of irregulars ravaged the country in every direction. By great exertions however Smith managed to feed his army, and to receive some reinforcements,

and towards the end of the month he was ready to act on the offensive.

The battle of Tirunamalai was fought on the afternoon of 26th September 1767. A small hill separated the two forces, and Hyder, expecting that the English would appear on the southern side of it, was surprised to see them marching off to the north-east, and instantly concluded that they were in full retreat towards Arcot. He sent forward his immense host of cavalry to harass their flanks and rear, and detached his best infantry to occupy the hill. The latter were dislodged, after an obstinate resistance, by three battalions under Captains Cosby, Cooke and Baillie, and then the English artillery, consisting of 31 light pieces, came into play. Their practice was so good that the opposing guns were soon silenced, and the cavalry were dispersed in all directions; and the English line rounded the hill, and moved steadily forward. Then there arose a difference of opinion between Hyder, who urged an immediate retreat, and Nizam Ali, who wanted to stay. The latter was accompanied by his favorite wives, who were mounted on gorgeously apparelled elephants, and when he at length gave the order to retire, a voice was heard from one of the purdahs, saying that her elephant would not turn in the face of the enemy, it had not been taught to do so. History does not say what happened to this frisky young lady, but her

unseasonable levity caused the loss of several elephants. By sunset the English had captured 9 guns, and occupied the ground which had been abandoned by their foes, and daylight discovered the latter in full retreat, but so hampered with baggage, that 55 more guns and a large quantity of stores were taken from them. The number of killed and wounded on our side was only 150; on the other it exceeded 4,000.

The defeat produced considerable ill-feeling between Nizam Ali and Hyder, but they proceeded to capture the forts of Tirupatur and Vaniambadi, and to lay siege to Ambur, which, under the command of Captain Calvert, made an obstinate resistance, until relieved by Smith on 6th December. The 10th M. I. still bears on its colors the rock of Ambur, in honour of this defence. By the 18th December, Hyder's army had been driven back into Mysore, and the Nizam was sueing for peace. He got out of his scrape cleverly, for by a fresh treaty concluded on 23rd February 1768, the Nabob and the English resumed the position of his tributary dependants, and he then broke up his camp at Punganur, and returned to Hyderabad.

The Madras Government were so elated by success, that they now committed the inconceivable folly of supposing that they could conquer Mysore. They sent Mahomed Ali with two field deputies to join Smith, who had suc-

ceeded Caillaud as Commander-in-Chief, and proclaimed the Nabob "Phousdar of Mysore." Wood was detached westwards with one division of the army, and captured in succession Hyder's fortresses of Dharmapuri, Salem, Ahtur, Namakal, Erode, Coimbatore and Dindigul; and Smith with the other, laid siege to Krishnagiri, which surrendered on 2nd May. Colonel Donald Campbell was sent on in advance, and took Mulbagal, Kolar and Hosur, and the main army moved on to the latter place, where on 4th August it was joined by 3,000 Mahratta horse. On the same day Hyder arrived at Bangalore, and on the 22nd made a night attack on the Mahratta camp, but was driven off; partly, it is said, by a wounded elephant which broke loose, and seizing its chain with its trunk, wielded it to right and left amongst the Mysore cavalry, and threw them into confusion.

Hyder's next object was to prevent a junction of Wood's force with Smith's, but in that he was also foiled, and withdrew into the Cuddapah district, whence he made proposals for peace. In response, the field deputies, on behalf of the Nabob, made such exorbitant demands, that the negotiation failed, and on 4th October, Wood's division, which had been placed near Mulbagal, was surprised by Hyder, who suddenly returned with a large army, and completely surrounded it. There was nothing apparently that could save it from destruction, when a brilliant

idea occurred to Captain Brooke, who being disabled, had been left with the wounded and sick in charge of the baggage. He collected his little command together, and led them round by a concealed path to the summit of a flat rock. Up this he and the other poor cripples struggled, and dragged two guns, from which they opened fire on the enemy's flank, all shouting at the same moment, as loud as they could,—"Smith! Smith! Hurrah! Hurrah!" The strategem was entirely successful, the shout was re-echoed by the division, and the Mysoreans supposing that the dreaded leader, actually at Kolar, had appeared upon the scene, dispersed to the east. Before Hyder discovered the deception, Wood had extricated himself from his perilous predicament.

Every attempt to move the army westward however was frustrated by Hyder, and it was so reduced by sickness and want of food, that Smith saw no hope of reaching Bangalore. And in November, the Council, waxing indignant at the delay, ordered him, the Nabob, and the deputies to come to Madras for a consultation. Colonel Wood was then left in command. In him the troops had no confidence, nor did he appear to have any in himself, for after failing in every operation which he undertook, he sat down at Kolar, determined to tempt fate no further. The Government then ordered him to Madras under arrest, and placed Col. Lang in command.

One of Hyder's generals meanwhile left Seringapatam, and advancing through Coimbatore, retook the fortresses there, and in December, Hyder, leaving his son Tippoo to harass our army, descended into Salem, and did the same in that district. He was followed by a small force under Major Fitzgerald, and opposed by feeble detachments from the garrison at Trichinopoly, but his progress was unchecked, and within a month he had carried fire and devastation to the bank of the Coleroon, and extorted from the rajah of Tanjore, a ransom of four lacs of rupees to spare his country. Then the Council of Madras opened negotiations, and Captain Brooke was sent to the enemy's camp to treat for peace. Hyder had many grievances against the English, but his animus was chiefly directed at Mahomed Ali, who had, he said, counteracted any friendly disposition of theirs towards himself, and he rejected the offers now made.

The remnants of the Company's and the Nabob's armies were brought together at Chittapet, and Smith resumed the command. Hostilities broke out again on 6th March 1769; the theatre of war was in the South Arcot district; and by 25th March, Hyder had drawn Smith as far south as Gingee. Then, sending his main army towards Ahtur, he took 6,000 selected horse, made a forced march northwards, and arrived at St. Thomas' Mount on 29th March.

Mr. Bourchier—whom he had a great objection to—had on 31st January given place to Mr. Josias Du Pré, who had lately returned from home, and Hyder demanded that the latter should wait upon him immediately.

The peace which the Council desired was now dictated to them, for the only alternative was the destruction of Black Town, and the spoliation of all the garden-houses. A treaty was concluded on 4th April, providing for the mutual restitution of all conquests, the cession of Karur; the liberation of the wife and family of Chanda Sahib, who were yet prisoners at Trichinopoly; and a mutual alliance in defensive wars,—by which was meant assistance against Hyder's inveterate enemies the Mahrattas. This being signed, Hyder returned at his leisure to Kolar, and the soldiers of both armies had some repose.

At this period the Madras army did not command the respect and admiration which it does now. The operations it engaged in were dictated by the Council, its commanders being allowed very little discretion; but they were held responsible for the commissariat, and expected to lay in supplies of grain in places where none was obtainable. Smith's failure cannot be attributed to want of courage or enterprise, nor to any timidity in the troops which he led, but to their being frequently reduced to a state of starvation. The protests which he made about the miserable organisation

for support from Madras, were unheeded while the campaign lasted, but as soon as it was over, it became apparent that some one must be hanged for the scandal, and a long enquiry was held. The Nabob was the ostensible supplier, and he sent in claims which the military officers utterly repudiated. They showed that his fortresses, alleged to contain large stores of rice, had been found practically empty. Native merchants petitioned for redress on account of gram and cattle which had been seized by the army. Finally, Smith and Wood were held responsible for the disasters, and the latter was suspended from employment. It is now time to trace the concurrent course of events at Madras.

Like nature, commerce abhors a vacuum; and as surely as the winds rush in to fill up the atmosphere depressions which occur from time to time over the Bay of Bengal, so surely through the operations of trade, are the casual vacancies in supply and demand re-occupied. The rapidity of the process is proportional to the degree of civilisation. Up till 1746, Fort St. George was the busiest centre of commercial activity in the East; it held in that respect the premier position of all the Company's settlements, but a quarter of a century of almost constant warfare had wrought a great change. The disturbed state of the Carnatic and the Deccan, made it impossible to forward goods up-country from Madras, or *vice*

versâ, without incurring considerable risks. Though upon a smaller scale than formerly, the Company's exports of piece-goods continued, because their weaving villages were close at hand, but the business in sundries gradually fell away to nothing. The China trade was partly diverted to Calcutta and Bombay, and the latter place became a large mart for British manufactures, particularly the scarlet broad-cloth in which the East India Company excelled. All classes of traders in Madras suffered, but especially the British free merchants, some of whom returned home, while others migrated to Acheen, Quedah, Manila, and various places in the Archipelago.

It may be asked then what means were there for the servants of the Company to make fortunes as of yore? Their salaries continued to be of microscopic dimensions, and they had neither pensions nor furlough allowances. It may be taken for granted that they were as eager to return to the land of their birth, and cull the pleasures of wealth while sufficient youth remained for its enjoyment, as their fathers had been before them. And that their wits were sharpened by the ambition. The opportunities which presented themselves were peculiar. In the first place, there were some big contracts offering; contracts for the new glacis and ramparts round the Fort; for enclosing the new cemetery; for building a new powder-factory; for improving the defences

of the Mount and San Thomé; and for a variety of other public works. Secondly, the armies in the field had to be supplied with provisions, tents and transport. Thirdly, both the King's and the Company's ships required stores and tackle. And fourthly, in the districts which had recently come under the administration of the Company there was the leasing of many farms, such a revenue, customs, abkari, salt, betel or tobaccc There was money in all these things, and th field was reserved for members of the Civi Service. The appointments were in the gift o the Governor and Council, and it soon came to b understood that they had to be paid for. Being paid for, it was also recognized that the payee had no right to interfere with the payer. Society quickly becomes reconciled to arrangements of this description, and it does not take long to arrive at a stage when its members may say anything, or do anything, they please, so long as they pay for the privilege. In New York this culmination of bliss is called Tammany. In the sixties, seventies and early eighties of the eighteenth century, Tammany ruled Madras.

Trade was depressed, building contracts had a limit, ship-chandling was precarious, but an altogether new industry loomed on the horizon; and this was the exploitation of the Nabob. Mahomed Ali who had settled at Madras, and assumed the title "Walajah." It was not until

November 1768, that he moved into the palace which he caused to be built at Chepauk; previously he resided in Black Town. He was an admirer of manly young Englishmen, accessible and courteous. The revenues of the country ("the Jaghire" excepted) belonged to him, and it was supposed that some day his debt to the Company would be liquidated. In the meanwhile he was lordly in his purchases, and insisted upon giving for whatever took his fancy, more than the holder demanded. Born in the year 1732, he had not yet passed the middle age, but his tastes inclined towards ease and luxury, and he was a ready purchaser of pearls, diamonds, mirrors, mechanical toys and marvellous clocks, as well as of elephants, horses, carriages, guns and uniforms. And, owing to the unstable condition of his revenues, he was very often in need of cash, and willing to pay royally for it. What better investment for the earnings of the young civilian in the field of glory and elsewhere? It was indeed a gilt-edge security.

Towards the end of 1767, Mr. John Macpherson arrived in Madras. He was 22 years of age, the son of a poor Scotch Minister, and occupied the humble position of purser to an East Indiaman in the roads. But he had a tall figure, handsome face, and courtly manners to help him on in life, and the Nabob found him sympathetic and encouraging, and liked him. For Walajah had many griev-

ances. He chafed at the growing independence of the Governor and Council, resented the tone of their correspondence, complained of the deductions from his income, disapproved of the acquisition of the Circars, and dreaded the fate of Mir Jafir, the Nabob of Murshedabad, whom Vansittart deposed. And Macpherson listened with intelligence, and pointed to the eleventh clause of the Treaty of Paris, and spoke of the Nabob's sovereign rights, and of his ally the King of England. In conclusion, he mentioned that he was about to return to Europe, and that if there was anything the Nabob wished him to do there, Walajah had only to mention it. The upshot was that the young fellow was commissioned to represent the state of affairs to the Duke of Grafton, then prime minister, and a handsome salary was attached to his appointment. Upon his arrival in London he obtained an interview with the Duke, with the result that Sir John Lindsay was dispatched to Madras, as the King's Envoy Extraordinary, to effect a settlement of the Nabob's claims; and Macpherson, playing a card for himself, returned in 1770, with the position of writer in the Company's service at Fort St. George.

But there was a wilier man than he already in that service, albeit not a Scotchman. Paul Benfield had come out in 1765. He was a young man whose hourly thoughts were occupied with

projects for his own advancement, and days which recorded no progress—were there any such—would by him be regarded as days irretrievably lost. Had he lived one century later, he must have become a very early recipient of the C.I.E. Writer in name, he was wont in after years to speak of himself as a merchant. For the term is even more comprehensive than that of doctor or clergyman, and a shelter for many a waif. Benfield was in fact a purveyor of Government contracts, and a usurer. He joined partnership with a native who provided the requisite capital, his own part being to pull the wires. Wire-pulling was in his hands a fine art. It enabled him to amass wealth, and at the same time to be on excellent terms with the big-wigs of Madras, and it helped him to become intimate with the Nabob of Arcot. And there were others besides Benfield who enjoyed this intimacy, and who, by judicious flattery, induced that potentate to believe that he might oust Hyder Ali and the Nizam from their dominions, and become the monarch of a realm extending from the Godavery to Cape Comorin.

In the autumn of 1769, the Directors appointed a Commission consisting of Colonel Francis Forde, Mr. Henry Vansittart and Mr. Scrafton, to examine and report upon the affairs in all the Presidencies. The Commissioners sailed from England with the squadron commanded by Sir John Lindsay, in the *Aurora*, but that ship after

touching at Cape Town, was never heard of more, so that when the admiral reached Madras on 26th July 1770, he was without encumbrances. His instructions were to see that the eleventh article of the Treaty of Paris was carried into effect, and that Mahomed Ali was placed upon the footing of an ally to the King of Great Britain, and he at once gave the Nabob assurances of the royal protection and friendly assistance, for which the latter expressed himself grateful. Mr. Du Pré and his Council were inexpressibly shocked at this interference with their authority. They declined the plenipotentiary's invitation to them to appear in his train, when he went in state to deliver to the Nabob His Majesty's letter and presents, and they wrote to the Directors that Sir John's visit was to them a source of the greatest embarrassment. Their relations with the Ambassador were strained.

Meanwhile the misfortune of the treaty of 1769 was becoming apparent. Before the year was out, Hyder proposed an alliance against the Mahratta chief, which the Presidency declined. In 1770, Mysore was again invaded by the Mahrattas who reduced its ruler to such extremities that he appealed to the English for help, but again met with a refusal. At the same time the Mahrattas pressed for their assistance in order to wipe him out altogether. Mr. Du Pré was thus placed in a most difficult position.

Between Hyder Ali and the Nabob there was a deadly enmity, and the latter, strongly backed-up by Lindsay, advocated the Mahratta alliance, in which the Council foresaw nothing but ruin. At this juncture the plenipotentiary was recalled, and succeeded by Admiral Sir Robert Harland, who arrived on 2nd September 1771, and was as urgent as his predecessor in exhorting the Company's representatives to join the Mahrattas. Finding them inflexible, he and the Nabob communicated with the invaders, and ultimately prevailed upom them to withdraw. And in July 1772, a peace was concluded between the two States, but the free-booters made Hyder pay dearly for it, and the bitterness of his resentment against the faithless Government of Fort St. George can be easily understood.

CHAPTER VI.

THE VAMPIRES.

THE Nabob's position was an extraordinary one. He looked upon the Governor and Council with aversion, while the King's Ambassador at his side resolved his doubts about his own importance; and the flatteries of his younger friends filled him with dreams of easy conquest, not unnatural to a man who was giving way to the life of a voluptuary. The condition of his army was contemptible; its pay was habitually in arrears, its discipline was bad, and it was officered by men who had been cashiered from the King's or the Company's services. And his debts in the meanwhile were mounting up. The interest—at 25 and even 36 per cent.—was unpaid, but his creditors were content to let this be added to the principal, until in January 1767, the whole was consolidated into one 10 per cent. loan, and fifteen districts were assigned to three trustees, as security for repayment. The amount of this loan was 88 lacs of rupees. By the year 1777, his indebtedness was doubled; and by 1780 trebled. It was afterwards shown that of the 88 lacs, Walajah had received in cash no more than 10 lacs; the remainder being made up of

interest, and pro-notes for services rendered, or to be rendered. The trustees were three members of the Council, and the whole affair was kept a secret from the Directors until the summer of 1769. The revenue from the 15 districts, added to the tribute from the rajah of Tanjore came to 36 lacs annually. And it must ever be borne in mind that, good season or bad season alike, this revenue had to be ground out of the cultivators. The renters and governors saw to that, even in districts which had barely recovered from the devastation of war. No sooner was one harvest completed, than the people were bereft of all, except that which would give them the life and strength requisite for the sowing and reaping of the following crop. For the ryots to think of relaxation was a misdemeanour, of wealth a felony. In their misery they coveted the comparative happiness of the down-trodden nation of Mysore. And in Madras men found "a music centred in a doleful song steaming up, a lamentation and an ancient tale of wrong, like a tale of little meaning tho' the words are strong."

There were indeed some exceptions. A youth named John Stewart arrived in 1763, as a writer. He had an oddly independent spirit, and wrote to the Directors pointing out to them the abuses which he had discovered. As no notice was taken of this, he addressed to them another letter, which is recorded as "a curious specimen

of juvenile insolence and audacity," resigning his place, "from a love of travel and through the possession of a soul above copying invoices and bills of lading to a company of grocers, haberdashers, and cheesemongers." Subsequently he rose to be a general in Hyder's army, and was severely wounded in the head. Then he entered the service of the Nabob, and became his prime minister. Afterwards he was known in Europe and America as "Walking Stewart."

The years rolled by, the wealth of the Europeans accumulated, and to this period can be traced the expansion of Madras. The newly rich were imbued with grand ideas of comfort; the houses they built for themselves were lordly, and the parks that surrounded them spacious. The highways which radiate from Black Town—the San Thomé road, the Mount road, the Pantheon road, and the Poonamallee road—began to be studded with luxurious dwellings. The evolution of the cross roads happened somewhat later, but there were numerous lanes, such as one sees now-a-days between Teynampet and Mylapore, which connected the highways. And in days when locomotion was for the most part in palankeens, or sedan-chairs, these lanes sufficed to give accses to some of the new abodes. The highways had a width of about 20 feet, while roads now known as Rundall's, Pater's, Commander-in-Chief's, Graeme's, Nungumbaukum, and others, were

then merely lanes. Egmore early became a favorite and fashionable quarter, and lands were acquired there freely. No bridges connected it with the other suburbs; the river had to to be crossed at fords, when these were not impracticable. The searcher after historical evidence of the age of the garden-houses is confronted with difficulties. Title-deeds no doubt exist, but—alas! for these penurious times,—they are generally hidden away from human eyes in the deed-chests of Sowcarpet. The localization of the abode of Benfield and his contemporaries would be interesting, but it is a subject for conjecture. Probably they lived in some of the houses which faced the Mount road, from the Fountain southwards. The house exactly opposite to Christ Church dates from this period, and "Mackay's gardens" indicates that Mr. George Mackay, member of Council, went somewhat far afield.

Jogging down to office on the shoulders of four bearers, and surrounded by his retinue of attendants, peons, and umbrella and hookah carriers, the jaded civilian's meditations on the previous night's losses at the card-table, or on the emoluments of his appointment, were not distracted by any gay shop-windows or flaring posters, as they would be now. On either side he looked over hedges into compounds embellished with white bungalows, and green palm, banyan, tamarind, mangoe and neem trees. When he reached

the corner of the Walajah road, the grand gateway of Chepauk, which stood at the terminus of the Triplicane high-road, came into view, upon his right. The heterogeneous crowd of the great man's dependants filled up the scene,—sepoys, musicians, hucksters, pedlars, beggars, jugglers, etc. May-be a sowar rode passed him in hot haste, conveying a perverse letter from his master to Governor Du Pré; or may-be a string of camels bringing a nuzzur from an up-country magnate; or may-be the bearers would overtake an elephant carrying the haughty Sir Robert Harland from an interview with the Nabob, at which he had been impressing upon His Highness the parity of the Court of Chepauk with the Court of St. James. Or may-be his palankeen was passed by that of a German artist, Imhoff by name, who was hurrying onwards to keep an appointment to paint the portrait of Omdut-ul-Omrah, the Nabob's eldest son. A coarse, mannerless fellow this Imhoff, though a Baron of Franconia. The young fellows disliked him, but they adored his refined, fascinating and accomplished wife. And the Baroness had a worthy admirer in a little gentleman of thirty-seven, remarkable for his solemn face, high forehead, and quiet unassuming manner. His name was Warren Hastings. The curious trio had arrived from home in the *Duke of Grafton* in October 1769, and were living together in a house which Hastings

had rented—waiting with patience for news from Würzburg, that the divorce which all of them desired, had been decreed.

Hastings was second in Council, Export Warehouse-keeper and Commissary-General. For the first his salary was £200 per annum; of the second, the emoluments were Rs.170, and of the third, which was a sinecure, Rs. 350 monthly. On the whole nothing much, but at that time he was a man of very simple tastes and habits. His principal work during the two years he was employed at Madras, was the suppression of malpractices in the Company's piece-goods business, and he prided himself upon leaving, that the assortments of cloth which he shipped, were of better qualities and lower prices than any that had gone forward for 30 years. He gave loyal support to Mr. Du Pré, strongly advocated the withdrawal of the King's Minister, and firmly opposed the idea of an alliance with the Mahrattas. His hopes were centred in the spirit and perseverance of Hyder being equal to repelling those invaders. The bright eyes of his enchantress must have obscured his sense of discernment, for he appears to have had no idea of the extent to which the Nabob was involved with the younger civilians, the men who would soon come into power. There is reason in believing that had he succeeded Du Pré, as the Directors intended, there would have been a different story

to tell about Madras. For Hastings alone had the resolution requisite for making a correct use of Winter's gallows. He was however wanted in Bengal, which was some way ahead of Madras both in corruption and misgovernment; and he embarked for Calcutta in February 1772, leaving many friends behind him.

The old rajah of Tanjore had been succeeded by a son named Tuljaji, the personification of all that is bad and dissolute in a native prince, and surrounded by ministers and parasites of the most degraded character. In fact a vassal of the Nabob, and supposed to be in friendly alliance with the Company, he had intrigued in turn with Hyder and the Mahrattas, and he was now considerably in arrears with his tribute. In February 1771, he had marched with an army against the chief of Ramnad, who was also a tributary of the Carnatic, and known at that time as the Greater Marawar. Having reduced him to submission, Tuljaji proceeded against the Lesser Marawar, or poligar of Nalcoty, and extorted money from him also. Both these chiefs appealed in vain for assistance from the Presidency, and when Mr. Du Pré remonstrated severely with the rajah for his unauthorized disturbance of the peace, Tuljaji sent back an impudent reply. While still in doubt how to act, the Governor and the Council received instructions from the Directors, that the rajah

must be brought to account for his conduct; but they proceeded with caution, being apprehensive that complications might arise with the Mahrattas, or with Hyder, or with the French. At last Tuljaji's open defiance left them no option in the matter, and they applied to the Nabob for assistance in the support of his rights. The latter urged several objections, and was disappointed when he learnt that the aim of the proposed expedition was not the annexation of Tanjore, but merely the chastisement of its ruler. He yielded to solicitation however, and agreed to pay the Company 35 lacs, and to recompense the troops, provided the city of Tanjore was captured, and the plunder made over to him. So in July 1772, General Joseph Smith, at Trichinopoly, received orders to take the field. In August a native envoy was sent to Tuljaji with proposals of accommodation, which were passionately refused, and in September the general commenced the siege. In spite of material assistance from both the French and Dutch, the rajah's defence was hopeless. By 25th October, there was a practicable breach in the walls, and everything was ready for the assault, when, to the astonishment of the army and Presidency, it was announced that terms had been arranged with Omdul-ul-Omrah, who was representing his father. These terms included the immediate payment of arrears, and the cost of the war, besides the relinquishment of

various territories. The treaty was disapproved of by the Nabob, who greatly blamed his son for it, and by the Council; and it disgusted the army. But it had to stand.

The differences between Sir Robert Harland and the Company's representatives were meantime growing more pronounced, and their correspondence exceedingly bitter. The Greater and the Lesser Marawars had become rebellious, and the Nabob, applied for help to extirpate them, which the Council had no wish to do. As they had however assembled a large force, and got assistance from the Dutch Governor of Colombo, it was decided in March 1772 to subdue them, and this was accomplished by General Joseph Smith with ease. In August, this renowned soldier resigned his command, and was succeeded by General Sir Robert Fletcher, who proved so unmanageable, that the Government gladly acceded to his request to be permitted to return to his duty as member of the House of Commons, and in January 1773, Smith resumed the command. On 2nd February Mr. Du Pré made over charge to Mr. Alexander Wynch, who had been responsible for the discreditable surrender of Fort St. David in 1758.

Notwithstanding the extension of the Company's territories, and the vast fortunes made by its servants, its own affairs at this period were in a very deplorable condition. Its antici-

pations of increased revenue had proved quite fallacious, and so far from being able to pay the nation the £800,000, which had been agreed upon for the services of the navy and army, it had to borrow from the British Government £1,500,000. The House of Commons then insisted upon passing a bill for the better regulation of the Company's affairs. A Supreme Council was appointed to assist the Governor-General, and a new Court, consisting of a Chief Justice and three judges was established in Calcutta. The new councillors, Mr. Richard Barwell, Mr. Philip Francis, General John Clavering, and Colonel George Monson, and the new judges, Sir Elijah Impey, and Messrs. Hyde, Chambers, and Lemaistre, left England in April 1774, and stayed for a few days at Madras in the following November. Nothing could exceed the marks of honour and respect shown to them by the authorities of Fort St. George.

Mr. Wynch soon found that the refractory rajah of Tanjore would claim his attention. Of the 50 lacs compensation, only 12 remained unpaid, but Tuljaji had been intriguing again with the Mahrattas and Hyder, with a view to upsetting the agreement of 1771, and regaining possession of his forfeited territories. And he had committed what was in the eyes of the Council a still greater crime, by mortgaging Nagore to the Dutch, and negotiating with them, the French,

the Danes, and the king of Kandy for military assistance. The acquisition of Tanjore was the long-cherished ambition of the Nabob, but he now found it unnecessary and inexpedient to press it upon the Company's servants. His creditors were even more eager than himself in the project. Benfield helped it forward by accepting a mortgage from the rajah, and then refusing to meet the latter's drafts. The Council declared that the independence of Tanjore was a standing menace to the Nabob's sovereignty, and they arranged terms for its complete conquest in his behalf. On 5th July 1773, General Joseph Smith was once more ordered to prepare for war, and without parley Tanjore was again besieged. It fell, with scarcely a struggle, on 16th September, and the rajah and his family became the Nabob's prisoners. The Dutch yielded up Nagore, on being reimbursed their advances, and the troops returned to cantonments. General Smith finally resigned in October 1775, and in acknowledgment of his services, the Nabob continued to him the pension of £1,500, which had lapsed by the death of Stringer Lawrence.

The Nabob was now placed in possession of a property worth one million sterling per annum, and had his creditors received the enlightenment of the century in front of them, it cannot be questioned that they would have seized this opportunity for issuing the prospectus of "Mahomed

Ali, Limited." The market value of the bonds improved, and the only doubt in investors' minds was—what will the Directors say? That doubt was not resolved before the middle of 1775. There was division at the East India House, for by this time many of the Proprietors and Directors were holders of Walajah's paper.

The majority were determined to restore the kingdom of Tanjore to the rajah as speedily as possible, and to put an end to political intrigues amongst the Company's servants. Casting about for a suitable agent to do this, they bethought themselves of the man who had firmly upheld their authority in Madras fifteen years before, and at the same time been a preceptor and friend to the Nabob. They offered the appointment to Lord Pigot, and he accepted it. He was at that time 56, and the powers of his body and mind being still vigorous, he had every confidence in himself. Men who have in their time been highly successful in India, are always apt to underestimate difficulties which beset their successors. He landed at Fort St. George on 11th December 1775, accompanied by his two daughters, the Hon. Sophia and Leonora Pigot,—the former of whom was in the following March, married to his secretary, the Hon. Edward Monckton. He was received with the greatest respect by both the natives and Europeans, for at that time the glory of the defence was not forgotten. The

welcome of Walajah was expressed in all the terms of oriental exaggeration, and a very friendly intercourse between the two ensued. And when the Governor broached the subject of his immediate intentions in regard to Tanjore, the Nabob surpassed himself in politeness. Tanjore was his, and the Company were his friends, and his friends' troops might march and take possession of any place that was his. Lord Pigot, as courteous, informed him that the Company's orders were peremptory, and that they could not admit his claim to Tanjore. To this Walajah responded, that he would not oppose the wishes of the Directors, but that perhaps they were not rightly informed of all the circumstances of the case, and that action might well be delayed until a further representation were made to them.

Mr. Wynch, dismissed and disgraced, sailed for England on 15th February 1776, and Lord Pigot's Council consisted of Messrs George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer (apparently a son of the gambler), John Maxwell Stone, Alexander Dalrymple, Claud Russel, George Mackay, Alexander Palmer, Francis Jourdan, and Sir Robert Fletcher, commanding the army. They offered no opposition to the orders of the Directors, and Tanjore was forthwith occupied by the Company's troops, and Tuljaji set at liberty. But his revenues were a portion, a large portion, of the crops of his country, and they were paid to him in kind. It was

necessary to place him in possession of these, and the Council agreed that Lord Pigot had better go to Tanjore to do so. He accordingly went there, accomplished his object, and returned Madras in May. In the meanwhile there were consultations between the Nabob, and the group of civilians who represented the holders of his bonds, chief amongst whom was Paul Benfield. Everything that Benfield read, or revolved in his mind, was if possible incorporated into means of adding to his riches, and it would appear that he had by some chance been perusing the story of the unjust steward. To most people who have not read Farrar, and Benfield was without that advantage, it is a parable not altogether easy of comprehension, but a light burst upon Benfield in its perusal, and he saw clearly wherein, by a simple process of inversion, it might benefit his present circumstances. My lord owed him one hundred measures of grain; he took his pen quickly and wrote two hundred. He went further than that, and laid before the Governor a claim for 25 lacs of rupees, which he said was secured by assignments of the crops of Tanjore now about to be harvested. Lord Pigot treated him and his claim with disdain. The man's rank was only that of a junior merchant, with a salary of not more than £108 a year, and here he was affirming that during the previous half-year he had advanced to the Nabob's son a quarter-of-a-million sterling, to be lent to the

ryots of Tanjore, for the cultivation of their crops. The thing was preposterous; the Council thought so too. All the assignments bore dates subsequent to receipt of the news that Tanjore was to be restituted, and Benfield was not deemed so foolish as to have actually risked his money upon a security so very intangible. It was a transparent device to keep the Nabob in possession, at any rate of that year's revenue. The matter was discussed in Council on 29th May, and it was unanimously resolved that the claims were of a private, and not a public nature—and that they were inadmissible.

But Benfield was, as already stated, a master of the art of pulling wires, and when the Council met on 3rd June, one of its members, Mr. Brooke, expressed doubts whether complete justice had been done. By the 6th June, Mr. Mackay had misgivings, and by the 14th, Stratton, Palmer, Floyer, and Jourdan were vacillating; and a resolution was passed that the mortgages and assignments made by the Nabob were valid, and that last year's grain should be restored to Benfield. Lord Pigot was indignant, and from that time forward there was a division in the Council. The next question was the selection of a proper and fit person to go to Tanjore carry the resolution into effect. Benfield's house now became the scene of numerous consultations amongst the members of his party, one of whom was a Colonel James Stuart, who had but recently arrived from home

as second-in-command of the army, with his head-quarters at Vellore. Towards the end of June, the Council received a letter from him claiming Tanjore, now the most important command, as his right. In opposition to this, the Governor proposed to send Mr. Claud Russel to be the Resident there; which was agreed to, but on 9th July, Colonel Stuart was voted to the military command. In the interval between the next meeting, the conspiracy grew apace, and between Benfield's house and Chepauk, there was a very busy correspondence, for it had become apparent that Lord Pigot was determined that the man to go to Tanjore should be a person in his confidence, who would insist upon the production of papers and accounts which must falsify the claims. Then there followed a long series of altercations in the Council, respecting the powers of the Governor, and upon 22nd August, the latter charged Stratton and Brooke with acting illegally, and suspended them. Up to that point he had shown moderation and forbearance, combined with inflexible firmness. The exclusion of two of the recalcitrants gave him a majority, viz., Messrs. Russel, Dalrymple, Stone and his own casting vote, against Floyer, Palmer, Jourdan and Mackay. Fletcher was ill. Mr. Archdale had just arrived from Masulipatam, to join the Board, and his vote would make the majority six. The opposition realized that they had been defeated; and refused

to attend the Council on the following day. They held a private meeting, sent a protest against the suspension of Stratton and Brooke, and issued instructions to Colonel James Stuart. Upon this Lord Pigot ordered Fletcher under arrest. The climax had been reached, and the conspirators, including Benfield and the Nabob, resolved to adopt a course to which they had agreed some weeks previously.

The Governor was *ex officio* Commander-in-Chief, and during the whole of the afternoon of the 24th August, he was engaged at his house in the Fort, with the assistance of Colonel Stuart, in issuing directions for the Military department; there was apparent friendliness between them, they had breakfasted and dined together. Paul Benfield's post-chaise and pair of arabs were in the stable, and Dempsey, the postilion, had been told to wait there for particular orders. At about 6 o'clock in the evening, a serjeant comes to him with Colonel Stuart's command to drive slowly to the centre of the island, and wait there. The serjeant gets inside the chaise and draws the blinds down. It is a close evening, the sky is tinged with the roseate glory peculiar to sunsets in the month of August at Madras; all the office-men and clerks have already wended their way homewards, and the road is almost deserted. "A lady in this case, I'll warrant"—thinks Dempsey to himself, as he guides his horses on through

the growing darkness. Suddenly he is told to halt, and finds his chaise surrounded by a guard of sepoys, and a troop of the Nabob's horse a little further on. "What ever is the meaning of this here"? he asks, "If you make a disturbance" replies the serjeant, jumping out, "I'll shoot you; them's my orders." So for twenty minutes he remains quiet, and then the wheels of a carriage are heard, and a phaeton, with his lordship and Colonel Stuart, drives up. Instantly it is stopped, and a couple of officers from the guard rush up, one with a pistol, the other with a drawn sword. —"My lord, you are my prisoner, get into this chaise"—and in a few minutes Dempsey is spurring to the Mount, with Lord Pigot and an officer behind him.

The coup had been deftly managed, but the news of the kidnapping reached Government House immediately, and was an absorbing topic of conversation in every bungalow by midnight. Mr. Russel attempted to win over the main guard at the Fort, but failed; and in the morning he, Mr. and Mrs. Monckton, Miss Pigot, Messrs. Dalrymple, Stone, and Lathom drove to the Mount, where they found the Governor, in the house of the commandant, Major Matthew Horne, who showed them an order from the conspirators that in the event of "any attempt to rescue Lord Pigot, as a last resource his life must answer for it." They were however per-

mitted free access to his lordship, who was boiling over with indignation against his opponents, and swearing that he would yet hang every man of them. Late at night on the 27th August, Benfield's chaise again appeared at Major Horne's house, with an officer who demanded the prisoner, and produced orders for his conveyance to Chingleput. Lord Pigot came out, and addressed the men of the guard in front of the house, reminding them that he himself was an old soldier, and had shared the perils of the siege with many of them; and being now in imminent danger of assassination, he appealed to them for protection. His words were effective, the men refused to obey the orders of the officer, who drove back to Madras discomfited. No further attempt was made to molest his lordship.

The gang were now in power, and the revenues of Tanjore at their mercy, but they seem to have been afraid to take possession of them. The crop at any rate was left in the rajah's keeping. Stratton was installed in the President's chair, and was a few days afterwards married to Miss Light, the friend and companion of Sterne's Eliza. Sir Robert Fletcher resumed office as Commander-in-Chief, and Stuart and Benfield proceeded to Tanjore. It has been noticed before, that European Madras reflected the habits of thought of London, but it must be here admitted that it was only of a particular and small class of

Londoners, viz., that section of the upper middle class which clings to the skirts of the aristocracy, and imitates its follies and vices. The strong resentment which the populace of the metropolis has always made manifest on occasions of a public injustice, is not known in Madras. There were nevertheless some Englishmen who were keenly sensitive to the wrong done to Lord Pigot, and amongst these was a young civilian named Eyles Irwin. The Council at once posted him and other dissentients to appointments far distant from the Presidency. Irwin refused to accept any appointment from them, and was accordingly suspended. He was then deputed by the Governor's friends, to go home and explain the course of events personally to the Directors, and in order to forestall the report of the usurpers, he travelled by the then little known overland route; with the result that he reached London 14 months after his departure from Madras.

Meantime Lord Pigot was in detention at the Mount. At first he had thoughts of applying to Sir Edward Hughes, the admiral who had succeeded Harland, for a passage to England in one of the King's ships, but finally resolved that he would see the matter through, and wait until the time arrived for his restoration to the government, and the overthrow of his foes. Major Horne was a considerate and courteous jailer, and the Moncktons had taken a house at the

Mount in order to be near the old man. His daughters used to ride with him in the mornings, and came to tea with him every evening, and any friends he desired were invited to dinner with the Horne family. He was under no restraint, excepting the prohibition from going to Madras. Pic-nic parties were organized, one to Covelong, another to Vandalur, and a third to a cave on Palaveram Hill. The Council occasionally directed letters to him, but herefused to have any communication with men whom he regarded as rebels. And so the months passed by until March 1777, when he first felt indisposed. It is certain that the ailment from which he suffered was not the result of confinement, but it rapidly grew worse, and as a last resource the surgeons recommended that he should be conveyed back to Government House. This was done on 28th April, and he died on 11th May. An inquest was held on his remains, and the jury, moved more by remorse than abstract justice, returned a verdict of "wilful murder" against those responsible for his imprisonment. We have no account of the funeral, but the grave with the simple inscription, "In memoriam," is in the chancel of St. Mary's Church. Five months afterwards his daughter Leonora wedded his faithful supporter Claud Russel in the same church.

And now, when too late, came the requital. The Directors did not take immediate action when they received news of the deposal, but after a

considerable amount of discussion, on 9th May, Mr. John Whitehill, who had been one of Du Pré's Council, and happened to be in England at the time, was commissioned to Madras, with orders for Lord Pigot's immediate re-instatement. He arrived on 31st August, having travelled from London *viâ* Cairo and the Red Sea, in 59 days, —a record which for many years remained unbroken. Stratton, Brooke, Floyer, and Mackay were recalled, and in 1779 tried before the King's Bench, and fined £1,000 each. Palmer, Jourdan, Benfield, Dalrymple, Stone, Lathom, and Russel were also recalled. Colonel Stuart was suspended, and ordered to remain at Madras until a Court Martial could be assembled to try him.

The Governors of the era now being dealt with, were—

Mr. Alexander Wynch...	1773-76	
Lord Pigot ...	1775-76	died at Madras.
Mr. George Stratton ...	1776-77	
Mr. John Whitehill ...	1777-78	
and Sir Thomas Rumbold...	1778-80	

It would be a mistake to suppose that the clearance just referred to, purged Madras. Tammany is a weed of very strong and persistent growth, and no vigorous measures had been taken to eradicate it, for a very good reason. Bribery and corruption were as common at that time in the west, as they were in the east. The letters of Junius were written in 1769-72.

Before the Directors received news of Lord

Pigot's death, they had decided to supersede him, and the man whom they selected as his successor, was one who had been formerly connected with the Presidency. William Rumbold, second in Council at Tellicherry, died there in 1745, leaving two sons. The elder died at Cuddalore in 1757, the younger served with distinction under Clive in Bengal, where he rose to be a member of Council, made a fortune, and returned home. He was now Sir Thomas Rumbold, member of Parliament, and on 8th February he landed at Fort St. George with his secretary named William Redhead; and with Major-General Hector Munro, the victor of Buxar, and now Commander of the Forces on the Coromandel Coast, and third in Council. Society in Madras at this time was about equally composed of the Civil and the Military. A large majority of both were creditors, and therefore supporters of the Nabob, and the minority had pecuniary interests in the State of Tanjore. Amongst visitors and sea-faring men the place had gained a notoriety for affluence and avarice, and this reputation penetrated to every up-country court and camp. Hyder knew it, the Nizam knew it, and the petty chiefs or Zemindars of the Northern Circars, had inklings of it. In the spring of 1778, the Governor sent for these Zemindars to Madras, to furnish information regarding their rents and revenues. It was an unusual thing to do, but Rumbold's

excuse was that it was impossible to spare a sufficient number of members from the Council, to form the customary Committee of Circuit. The Zemindars responded to the summons, unwillingly, for the journey was a long one, and most of them were in arrears with their rent. The wise put oil into their lamps; the foolish omitted this precaution, and returned sadder men. The rajah of Vizianagram, in spite of his protests, found himself saddled with a Dewan in the person of an ambitious and intriguing brother. Three lacs was the price of that Dewanship, of which Mr. Redhead received one lac.

Guntoor, the most southerly of the Circars, had been granted by the Nizam to his brother Basalut Jung as a Jaghire, and the latter had taken into his service a body of French troops under the command of young Lally, a nephew of the unfortunate Count. Rumbold now received instructions from the Supreme Council of Bengal to insist upon their immediate dismissal. Foolishly, negotiations were commenced with Basalut, without the knowledge of the Nizam, and it was arranged that Guntoor should be ceded to the Nabob for a certain annual payment; that the French should be dismissed, and that the district should be defended by English troops. This treaty was signed on 27th January 1779, and in accordance with it a force, under Colonel Harper, was sent to Guntoor in the following April. The

revenue of Guntoor was wanted for the payment of the Nabob's creditors. When the Nizam heard what had been done, his wrath was kindled, and he was still more aggravated when Rumbold asked him to remit the rent due for the Northern Circars, on the plea that the Madras treasury was empty. Mr. John Hollond was dispatched to Hyderabad to appease him, and the negotiations lasted all through the hot weather. The Supreme Council strongly disapproved of the proceedings of that of Madras. They had but lately embarked upon a war with the Mahrattas, which was straining their resources, and the creation of another formidable enemy was the last thing in the world they wished for. They ordered the the immediate restoration of Guntoor to the Nizam, and the withdrawal of the request for abatement. And then there commenced an unseemly contest between the two Councils, such as happily we never hear of in these days. Rumbold not only repudiated the censure which had been passed upon Madras, but condemned in strong terms the foreign policy of Bengal; and he refused to give up Guntoor. In the end Nizam Ali was somewhat mollified, but he took into his own service the Frenchmen who had been dismissed by his brother. This was particularly awkward, because war between Britain and France about the American Colonies, had already broken out.

CHAPTER VII.

RETRIBUTION.

Over Fort St. George the clouds were gathering. Ever since the retirement of the Mahrattas in 1772, Hyder Ali had devoted himself to the formation of a really powerful army. Experience had taught him that to that end European discipline was essential, and by every possible means he had attracted to his standard military adventures of all nations, European artificers, and sepoys trained in the Company's service. He made a large collection of the most modern ordnance, and ordnance stores, and of muskets and ammunition, and his infantry were drilled on the English system, and taught to obey English words of command. His army had been brought into an almost perfect state of discipline, and he himself had made great progress in the study of tactics. In less than three years he conquered Coorg and the whole of Malabar, captured Gooty and Bellary, avenged himself on the Mahrattas, wrested from them the northern portion of Mysore, and annexed the districts of Anantapur and Cuddapah, His name was one to conjure with; he was renowned throughout India as the greatest military commander of the age; and he

nourished in his heart a contempt for the Nabob, and a deadly animosity against the British who had played him false in his hour of need.

All this was perfectly well known to the Governor and Council at Madras, for the Nabob's Intelligence department, was not defective. Nor was Hyder's. He had a vakeel to represent him at the Presidency; a highly intelligent Mussulman, who had the *entrée* everywhere, was on terms of intimacy with the Nabob, treated with deference at Government House, well informed as to the condition of both the Nabob's and Company's troops, and familiar with passing events. He could, and no doubt did tell his master, that the English were too much absorbed in wringing money out of the population, and piling up hoards of it, to care much for what was going on outside. And he may have added that the gentlemen upon whom everything depended, and who might possibly take preparatory action which would be inconvenient, were not above accepting a trifle to remain quiet.

Under orders from England, as soon as the French war broke out, Sir Hector Munro was sent with a large force to capture Pondicherry, and the British squadron under Sir Edward Vernon, sailed from Madras to blockade it. Vernon engaged a French squadron under Tronjolly, of exactly the same strength as his own, on 10th August 1778, and though the action

was indecisive, a few days after it Tronjolly disappeared from the coast altogether. Munro sat down before Pondicherry on 10th August, and opened his batteries on 18th September. By the middle of October he was ready for the assault, but M. Bellecombe, the governor, realizing that defence was hopeless, was accorded very generous terms, and capitulated. For the second time the fortifications of our French neighbour were razed to the ground. At the close of the year Sir Eyre Coote landed at Madras on his way to Calcutta, as Commander-in-Chief in India. He reviewed the garrison on the Island on New year's day, 1779.

The Madras Council then bent upon expelling our rivals from Southern India, and ignoring the fact that they were driving them into Hyder's service, resolved upon capturing Mahé, which was done on 19th March 1779. It was no difficult exploit, but it took away a lot of valuable troops to the Malabar Coast, and it annoyed Hyder immensely. So much so, that Rumbold deemed it advisable in July, to engage Schwartz, the revered German missionary of Trichinopoly, to go privately to Seringapatam to pacify him; a proof that the Governor did not place much confidence either in the ability or integrity of his fellow civilians. The mission failed, and Schwartz brought back a letter, in which the grounds of Hyder's grievances were fully and clearly stated. Nevertheless the Council made no offer of repara-

tion, and no preparation against attack. In February 1780, another envoy was sent, who returned with a still less satisfactory answer.

One morning in January 1780,—the 20th—Sir Edward Hughes dropped anchor again in the roads, with a fleet of ships-of-war, and some merchantmen, from England, and there was an unusual excitement in Madras when it became known that a regiment of Highlanders was about to be landed. Immense crowds assembled on the beach, and stared at the strange costume, and grinned at hearing the rough Gaelic speech ; no finer soldiers had ever been seen in the settlement, —1,000 men and 45 officers. The officer commanding was a Lord Macleod who had a strange history. When but a boy, he and his father, the third Earl of Cromarty, had gone out with the rebels of '45, marched from Perth to Dunblane, taken possession of Bridge-of-Allan, fought at Falkirk, and finally been captured and condemned to death. Both were spared, but the family estates were estreated, and Macleod had to seek the service he longed for, in continental armies. Thirty years later his king, George III, was reconciled to him, and commissioned him to raise a regiment, to be numbered the 73rd. The glamour of the old name drew to him the best blood of his old county. After a few days in the King's barracks in the Fort, the regiment was marched to more comfortable quarters at Poonamallee.

Amongst those who watched its landing at the sea-gate, was Hyder's vakeel, making mental notes; one of which was that it would have been far better for some of these brave lads if their mothers had never given them birth.

Hyder Ali's machinations against the Nabob and his allies, were now the common talk of the bazaars. It was known that his emissaries were arranging for the co-operation of the Mahrattas and the Nizam; the first to sweep the British out of Bengal, the second to expel them from the Circars. In the Council-chamber, beyond recalling the troops from Malabar, and ordering a new levy of sepoys, the subject was ignored, and on 6th April 1780, Rumbold made over charge to Mr. Whitehill, and followed his remittances to England. On 19th June, and again on 17th July, Messrs. Charles Smith and Samuel Johnson, members of Council, submitted minutes urging the imminence of the danger, and the necessity for active preparation; and on both occasions the majority resolved that the apprehensions were groundless, and that there was no prospect of an immediate invasion. On 23rd July, Lord Macleod used earnest words with Governor Whitehill, and the reply he received was—"What can we do? we have no money." The Nabob's governor of Ambur had already reported that Hyder's army had come through the Changama pass. When the garrison of Poonamallee awoke on the morn-

ing of 24th July, it was to see every village around them in flames, and the villagers flying for their lives, pursued by relentless horsemen. A great crowd, terror-stricken, lacerated, and bleeding, sought refuge in the broad ditch which yet marks the site of the old fort. The villages were reduced to ashes, their streets strewn with the bodies of old men, women and children; not a life was spared. The avalanche had fallen. Then the Presidency was aroused, and as might be expected, the lotos-eaters, finding their own lives and property in jeopardy, turned upon each other with mutual recriminations, and urgently, despairingly, appealed to Bengal for help. In the army there was but one opinion: that Rumbold and his associates had been richly bribed.

Munro, Macleod and some others bestirred themselves; the 73rd Highlanders were ordered to the Mount, where they were joined by the Company's Europeans and sepoys from Madras; a camp was formed, and civilian commissaries were appointed. The detachment which had been sent to Guntoor under Colonel Harper in 1778, was now commanded by Lieut-Colonel Baillie; it was resolved to wait until it, and Colonel Brathwaite's division from Pondicherry, should arrive, and then to march against the enemy, whose main force was at Arcot, while his irregulars were engaged in laying waste a broad

belt of country from Vellore to Porto Novo. The Council, recovered from their panic, were now under the delusion that it would not need any great exertion to repel him, and exhibited childish impatience for an immediate advance. The Nabob was concerned for his capital, and urged that the junction with Baillie could be effected at Conjeveram, which view was adopted by the majority of the Council. Lord Macleod, who was to command, was strongly opposed to it. Acrimonious disputes ensued, and Sir Hector Munro pledged himself to carry the proposal into effect. Orders were accordingly dispatched to Baillie to join at Conjeveram. Colonel Cosby, who commanded at Trichinopoly, was directed to move northward, to intercept, if possible, the enemy's convoys.

In the preparations for a campaign in those days, the personal comfort of the officers was an important consideration. Each one was provided with a large bell-tent, which he furnished luxuriously. If of Captain's rank or higher, he was permitted to take into the field, his palankeen and bearers, his butler, cook, dressing-boy, horse-keeper, and grass-cutter; an extensive wardrobe, a large amount of liquors and stores, a hamper of live poultry, and a milch-goat. There were no regimental messes. The rank and file were provided with tents, each of which held ten men comfortably. The Quarter-master had in his

charge an immense quantity of tents, provisions and carts; the surgeon a large allotment of doolies and medicines. It was calculated that each gun required one bullock for every pound weight in the ball it fired. Needless it is therefore to labour the point, that the transport of an army was a most serious undertaking. Crowds of cooly men and women were pressed into the service, and every palankeen-boy—the office-bearers of these days—was forced to attend the camp. Enormous herds of bullocks were collected months beforehand, the contract being given to a favoured member of the Civil service, who was allowed a price which covered the risks which he undoubtedly incurred. The supply of rice, gram and meat, was another civilian perquisite. There were ways of working these contracts by which the profits were not only infallible, but extremely large. The position of tent-supplier was also one to be envied, and the pay-master had excellent opportunities of profit, in discounting the bills upon the treasury at Madras. After all, war was not an evil without mitigations.

In spite of luxurious inclinations, the Company's officers took pride in their profession, and the efficiency of the regiments they commanded was admitted, and admired by men of the King's service. The sepoys' appearance on parade was smart, their uniform consisted of a blue turban,

red jacket, white waist-coat, blue cummurbund, and white half-drawers. The legs, from the thigh downwards, were bare, sandals were worn on the feet. But, whilst the British force was encumbered with heavy accoutrements, and superabundant baggage, Hyder's force was equipped in the lightest manner possible. His horsemen, clothed in quilted cotton coats, seldom carried more than a large and sharp scimitar, or a six-foot spear; they received no pay, but were free to plunder. Of the same class were the looty-wallahs, also mounted, but armed with a musket, or sometimes merely bow and arrows. He also employed thousands of rocket-men, whose business it was to harass the enemy with sticks fired from tubes made of bamboo. His regular infantry were clothed and armed in imitation of the English, and they were accompanied by pike-men, who carried long pointed bamboos, which were used to form a frise against attacks of cavalry. Hyder's artillery was of French and Danish guns, well served, and he had in his employ two troops of French horsemen, and 500 foot composed of European renegades.

The 26th August had arrived before Munro's army was ready to begin the march from the Mount to Conjeveram, and then it was poorly provided. Brathwaite and his men had arrived from Pondicherry, and the whole force amounted to 1,300 Europeans, and 3,250 sepoys. The

Nabob's cavalry refused to move, because their pay was fourteen months in arrears, and they went over to the enemy; the governors of most of his forts, with their retainers, had already done so. On 29th August, the army encamped on the west side of Conjeveram, and as Hyder had raised the siege of Arcot, and encamped with his whole force about five miles to the north, Munro resolved to wait where he was until Baillie came up. The latter had with him 2,500 men. He had pushed on bravely, in spite of many difficulties, until he reached the bank of the Corteliar river, which flows, (when it flows at all, for it seldom contains much water) from the south into the Ennore lake; and he encamped at Vungul, on the evening of 25th August. By the worst possible luck a fresh came down that night, which prevented him from crossing until 3rd September, and it was not until the 6th, that he reached the village of Perambaucum, 14 miles south-east of the general's camp. Meanwhile Hyder had brought forward his forces, and hemmed in Munro, cutting off from him all intelligence of what was passing; and had sent forward his son Tippoo Sahib, with the flower of his army, to attack the detachment. Baillie had guns, and after a severe conflict, repelled his assailants; but on the 8th, he reported to Munro that it was beyond his power to join the main body without assistance. Such assist-

ance the general found it difficult to afford. All his supplies were in Conjeveram, and were he to move to the east, Hyder, who was closely watching him, would pounce upon them, and leave him destitute. He therefore made up a strong detachment consisting of two companies of the 73rd, under Lindsay and Baird ; two companies of Europeans, under Philips and Ferrier ; and ten companies of sepoys under Rumley and Gowdie ; the whole commanded by Colonel Fletcher of the 73rd. Fletcher moved out on the evening of 8th September, and, avoiding a snare which Hyder had laid for him, joined Baillie at Perambaucum, at 6 the next morning. It was resolved between them to rest where they were until evening, and between 8 and 9 P.M. the march was begun. Soon after 10 o'clock, Tippoo's guns opened on their rear, and gradually worked round to their front, so that during the night the detachment made little progress, but at dawn on 10th September, they could see the pagoda of Conjeveram. The same dawn revealed to Munro that Hyder had quitted his camp, and moved his army to the east of the village of Pollilore, and immediately afterwards a furious cannonade was heard. Baillie was surrounded, and if he could not fight his way through, it was too late to save him. Munro made the attempt. He marched towards Pollilore as fast as he could, until noon, when he was met by some sepoys, with the news

that the unfortunate detachment had been destroyed.

In the history of the British people, there is nothing finer or more terrible, than Baillie's resistance to the overwhelming army which surrounded him. Cannonaded on his left, his front, and his right, scorched with the fire of musketry and rockets, and harassed by incessant charges of horsemen, he struggled on, leaving the ground behind him strewn with his dead and wounded. With but five hundred survivors, he reached a piece of ground a little higher than the rest of the plain, and there they made their last stand. Five hundred against a hundred thousand. Exhausted, wounded, and without ammunition, this remnant remained undaunted. Desperately lacerated men, with scarce a spark of life left in them, raised themselves somehow, and received the enemy upon their bayonets. Thirteen separate attacks were thus repulsed, and then, seeing no hope of succour, Baillie held up a flag of truce. Many minutes elapsed before the signal was regarded, but at last some one called out to them to lay down their arms, and quarter would be accorded them. They complied, and immediately a seething surging mass of horsemen and footmen crowded in upon them, hewing, hacking and spearing indiscriminately. When the turmoil was over, sixteen only of the five hundred were unhurt. Fletcher, 29 officers, and 150 of the

European rank and file were dead; Baillie, 34 officers, and all the remaining privates were grievously wounded. The whole of the sepoys were killed, captured or dispersed.

It was not to be expected that Hyder would use his victory mercifully; such a thing was unusual in Asiatic warfare, and besides, he burned with indignation against the British people, whom he intended to expel from the country. He revelled in his trumph, and retiring sufficiently far to be quite safe from molestation by Munro, he held a court at which the heads of the killed were placed at his feet, and the survivors, stripped and bleeding, were dragged before him. The scene is too horrible for description here; its one redeeming feature is the contrast between the barbarian and Baillie, who, in spite of his nakedness and wounds, held up his head proudly, and told Hyder, that but for his own bad fortune, their positions would have been reversed. The miseries of our fellow countrymen were very great, and were relieved, only to a small extent, by the humanity of a few French officers. The wounded were kept for a time at Arnee, and then drafted by degrees to the prisons of Seringapatam, and other cities in Mysore. Both during the journey and in confinement, they were subjected to heartless cruelties, under which many of them succumbed.

When Munro with the main army, heard of this

dreadful disaster, nothing could persuade him to advance further. He threw his heavy guns into a tank, abandoned his stores and baggage, and marched with all speed for Chingleput. There he was joined by Cosby, with 1,000 sepoys, and three regiments of cavalry, and the combined force marched onwards to the Mount, and encamped at Marmalong on 15th September. The bridge which crosses the Adyar there, was built in 1725. The terrible news had already reached Madras, and its inhabitants were overwhelmed with grief for the loss of personal friends, and dread lest Hyder should sweep down on them. Everyone was in mourning, business was suspended, and the Council, unanimous at last, were sending desperate appeals to Calcutta for assistance. Warren Hastings, against the wish of Francis, complied with their request, and Sir Eyre Coote, with 650 Europeans, 15 lacs of rupees, and a large supply of provisions, landed at Madras on 5th November, and took over the command from Munro, who had brought his army into cantonments stretching from Vepery to San Thomé.

The name of Coote acted like magic on the depressed spirits of the troops, and the inhabitants. The memory of his exploits in 1759-61 was still green, he was adored by the sepoys, and the one leader in whom every one had confidence. But the task before him was a very formidable one,

and he had now reached the age of 55. Hyder had spent the interval in completing the desolation of the surrounding country, and in transporting the weavers and other artificers, by thousands to Mysore; and an army opposed to him must depend entirely upon Madras for its supplies. Moreover, although under orders from Bengal, Mr. Whitehill had been replaced by Mr. Charles Smith, Madras was still under the sway of a set of incompetent and corrupt men. Coote's preparations however were soon complete, and on 17th January 1781, he set off southwards from St. Thomas' Mount, at the head of 7,400 men. Sir Hector Munro and Lord Macleod attended him. Five of the Nabob's strongholds, viz., Wandewash, Permacoil, Chingleput, Vellore, and Ambur were holding out against the enemy, and Coote proposed to go to their relief. The first operation was the recapture of Karangoly, where Captain Moorhouse of the artillery distinguished himself, and the next object was Wandewash.

The defence of Wandewash by Lieutenant Flint is a memorable instance of the audacity and self-reliance which have ever been characteristic of the British subaltern. He was sent there with 100 sepoys in August 1780, to replace the Nabob's governor, but the latter refused to deliver charge, and threatened to fire if the party came within range. This did not deter Flint, who insisted upon having a personal interview, and

continued to advance. After some objection, he and four of his men were admitted within the gate, where they found the governor with 130 armed attendants. The message he brought was received with derision, and he was ordered at once to depart. Thereupon Flint suddenly seized the governor, declaring that he would kill anyone who dared to interfere, and the four sepoys as promptly presented their bayonets. The Mahomedans were momentarily paralysed, and before they could recover, the remainder of the company rushed in, and the fort was gained. By hard and constant labour, it was made fit for defence against Hyder, who arrived before it on 21st August, and found himself baffled in every attempt at its capture. The best of his corps were left to continue the work, but their perseverance was not rewarded. Flint and his men were never caught napping. Early in December, the wives and families of the sepoys obtained Flint's reluctant permission to reside amongst their friends in the surrounding villages. These wretched creatures were collected and sent with a flag of truce to the glacis, whence, with screams and lamentations, they implored the sepoys to yield, as the only means of saving them from barbarous treatment. It was a critical moment for Flint, but disregarding the remonstrances of his men, he fired and knocked the flag over, and with a few discharges over the heads of the crowd,

put them to flight. The siege was resumed with vigour, but Flint succeeded in repelling every attack. By 16th January, the enemy had penetrated to the ditch, but that evening most of their tents were struck, and they marched away. At 2 A.M. on the 17th, very heavy firing was heard to the eastward, and at daybreak a column of 3,000 infantry, dressed and accoutred as British sepoys, appeared from that direction. Everyone in the garrison took these to be the relieving force, especially when they commenced discharging their cannon at bodies of the Mysoreans upon their right. But Flint noticed that the practice was not that of British artillery, and he kept, though with difficulty, his men in hand; and made them utilize the opportunity for destroying the galleries and works. Seeing that their elaborate plot had proved abortive, the enemy re-occupied their cover, and for the next five days were engaged in repairing the damage done to their trenches. But on 22nd January, they abandoned the attack, and on the 24th, Coote arrived to find the British colors still flying on the ramparts, and Flint's stores and ammunition exhausted. The veteran's admiration for the exploit was unbounded, and he made the youthful hero a Captain on the spot.

And now the news that a French fleet had appeared off Madras, caused Coote to hesitate as to what he had better do next, but eventually he proceeded to relieve Permacoil, and then moved

on to Pondicherry; and Hyder's army came up with him at Cuddalore. Coote's main object was to get to a place where provisions from Madras might reach him by sea, and to be within access to the granaries of Tanjore. The consumption of his army, and the revictualling of the forts, had well nigh exhausted his provisions. He found himself obliged to remain inactive where he was, for five months. The Council at Madras were powerless to relieve his wants. Hyder would neither accept battle nor withdraw. At last, in June, Sir Edward Hughes, who had been destroying Hyder's incipient fleet on the west coast, arrived, and Coote found himself in a position to renew operations. He attempted to carry the fortified pagoda of Chillambrum, but failed, and then moved his whole army to Port Novo, where Hughes' squadron had anchored. The commandant of Chillambrum was so elated with success, that he persuaded Hyder to hurry forward, and hem in the British with a force of 40,000. A battle for existence now became unavoidable. Coote had only 8,476 men, and early on the morning of 1st July, he formed them in two lines with their backs to the sea; a range of sand-hills separated them from the enemy. One line, under Coote, marched round these to the right; the other, under General James Stuart—whose court-martial had at last been held at Madras, and resulted in an acquittal—marched round to the left.

The squadron dropped down abreast of the army, and the masts and yards of the ships were manned with seamen, watching anxiously the event of the contest. The operations were well-timed; our men fought most valiantly, and Hyder's host, attacked on both flanks, gave way and fled in confusion. Historians tell us that if they had not done so, the British would have been expelled from Madras, and Southern India would have become the Mysore kingdom,—but historians must not be believed implicitly. Hyder was already beginning to think that he had embarked upon an enterprise which was beyond his capacity.

Coote marched his army northwards as quickly as possible, for he was anxious to form a junction with five regiments of Bengal Native Infantry, which all this time had been marching down the coast, under the command of Colonel Thomas Pearse—the officer who had been Warren Hastings' second in his duel with Francis, twelve months previously. The junction was formed at Pulicat on 3rd August, and the people of Madras had opportunities of fraternizing with their brave defenders, as they passed and repassed along the Ennore road, and went into camp at St. Thomas' Mount. The militia of the town,—Europeans, Eurasians, and Natives,—had been recently distinguishing itself. Lord Macartney landed on 22nd June, and took over the government

from Mr. Smith. He was a man of 43, handsome and accomplished, who, by a brilliant career in diplomacy, and a judicious marriage, had obtainad a peerage ; and the Directors chose him as the fittest person available for smoothing out the rumpled condition of the Carnatic. He brought with him the news of war with the Dutch, and at the head of the militia, seized both Sadras and Pulicat. He then made overtures for peace to Hyder, which the latter rejected, and a fresh campaign became a necessity. Arcot, the Nabob's capital, was still being besieged, and Coote determined to relieve it.

Notwithstanding the exertions of the new Government, the army was very badly supplied, and when it set out on 16th August 1781, had but eight days' supply of rice. On the 27th, it defeated Hyder's forces at Pollilore, the very same village where poor Baillie had been overwhelmed. At this battle General Stuart lost a leg, and Munro, taking offence at a reprimand given him by Coote, returned to Madras. Coote then, from want of provisions, retired to Tirupasur, where he was within touch of Poonamallee, and did not advance again until 21st September. On the 27th, he defeated the enemy at Sholinghur,and spent the next four weeks in the Karvetnagar Zemindary, where the crops sufficed to feed his famished army. An attempt to throw some supplies into Vellore was frustrated, and that fort was not

relieved until the 3rd November. The army then captured Chittoor, and in the middle of December returned to Madras. Early in January 1782, it set forth with another convoy, and after many skirmishes, again relieved Vellore, and again went into camp at the Mount. Coote's health had sunk under the pressure of bodily fatigue and mental anxiety, and he was anxious to proceed to Bengal, to concert with the Governor-General some remedies for the miserable commissariat arrangements, which had ruined all his chances of success in the field.

Lord Macartney meanwhile was impatient to reduce Negapatam, and the Southern army, led by Colonels Brathwaite and Eccles Nixon, was directed to advance into Tanjore. Munro sailed from Madras with Hughes' squadron, and took over the command at Nagore. The siege and blockade of Negapatam were at once begun, and on 11th November, the town capitulated. Hughes then embarked a small force and pushed on to Trincomallee, which he captured on 11th January 1782, and, having left garrisons in the forts there, he set sail again for Madras, where he anchored on 8th February; and the next day was reinforced by 3 ships from home, under Commodore James Alms.

And now we must turn our attention for a moment to the contest which had been raging between France and Britain elsewhere. At the

end of 1780, a secret expedition was prepared at Portsmouth, for the capture of the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch. It consisted of 5 men-of-war, under the command of Commodore Johnstone. The French Government obtaining early information of this, determined to help their allies. They also equipped 5 powerful vessels, and sent them out, under Bailli de Suffren, to forestall Johnstone. The latter, nothing suspecting, was taking in provisions in Porto Praya, Cape de Verd Islands, on 16th April, when Suffren dropped upon him, and in an hour's action hammered his ships. Suffren then drew off as quickly as he had come, and reached the Cape in time to save the Dutch settlement. Johnstone arrived later, captured four Dutch East Indiamen in Saldanha Bay, and returned home, after dispatching three of his ships, with his transports, to Bombay. These vessels carried the 72nd, or Seaforth Highlanders, raised in 1778, and other reinforcements. Stress of weather drove them about for some months, but on 22nd January 1782, some of them arrived at Bombay, and on 9th February, the rest anchored at Madras. The detachment of the Highlanders, commanded by Major William Fullarton, joined Coote's camp.

Suffren meanwhile called at Mauritius, and took charge there of a large armament, which he brought on with him to this coast. He sighted land on 11th February, north of

Pulicat, with the intention of destroying the British squadron, and capturing Fort St. George. However, on his arrival here on the 14th, he discovered that Hughes had been reinforced, and was prepared for him, so stood away to the south; and Hughes immediately weighed anchor, and followed. On the afternoon of the 17th, there was a hotly contested action off Sadras, and two of our sixty-fours were badly damaged. The French fleet hauled off, and afterwards landed 2,000 men at Porto Novo; and the English, having recaptured five of Suffren's prizes, went on to Trincomallee. On 17th February, Brathwaite with 2,000 men, was surprised near Kumbakonam, by Tippoo Sahib, and, after 26 hours of desperate fighting, was completely defeated; he and his officers being made prisoners. The Mysoreans were now able to join hands with the French, and on 8th April, they captured Cuddalore. On 12th April, the fleets met again off the coast of Ceylon, and another severe conflict ensued, but without a decisive result.

Throughout the early part of 1782, there was disagreement between Sir Eyre Coote and the Madras Council, of which he was *ex officio* a member. The old man was very wrath with them, and the Nabob, on the subject of supplies, and he was sensitive about infringements of his prerogative. On 11th May, the combined forces of the French and Hyder suddenly appeared

before Permacoil, and the general instantly set out to relieve it. He was however too late, and had to follow the enemy to Wandewash, and thence to Pondicherry, without succeeding in bringing them to action. He then made a forced march to Arnee, where Tippoo and Hyder followed him. There was a collision rather than a battle there on 2nd June, and scarcity of grain again forced Coote to return to the Mount. On the way back, some of our troops fell victims to a ruse which has had some parallels in the Boer war. They had pitched their tents, and were resting after the day's march, when they caught sight of several camels and elephants, heavily laden, but with few attendants. The men, without waiting for orders, rushed off to secure the prize; and Hyder's horse burst from their place of concealment, and cut the whole party to pieces.

Sir Edward Hughes stayed quietly at Trincomallee until 23rd June, when he sailed for Negapatam, which was being threatened by Suffren. The fleets came in sight of one another off Cuddalore, on 5th July, and the English bore down upon the French the following day. Their numbers were equal, eleven on each side, and a desperate battle left neither of them victors. Suffren went to Cuddalore, and stripped the houses there to furnish masts and spars for his ships. And Hughes went to Negapatam, and

embarked some reinforcements, under the command of Captain Hay Macdowall, for Trincomallee. That place was attacked by Suffren on 24th August, and Macdowall was forced to capitulate on the 30th. Three days afterwards, Hughes appeared there with 12 ships of the line, and the fourth Naval action ensued. It was as hotly contested as the others, and had a similar result, although the French force numbered 14 powerful ships. Hughes thereupon sailed to Bombay to refit.

On 26th August, Coote set out to attack Cuddalore, Lord Macartney having promised to make special arrangements for supplying him with rice by sea; but when the army reached Pondicherry, and was reduced to its last ration, the rice-ships were not yet in sight. This disappointment weighed so heavily on the general, that he became seriously ill, and handed over the command to General Stuart, who had recovered from his wound. Coote sailed direct to Calcutta, and was never seen again by his devoted sepoys. Stuart at once marched the army back to Madras, and placed it again in cantonments; and at the end of October Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton arrived with a strong reinforcement, consisting of the 23rd Light Dragoons,—the first British Cavalry ever landed in India—the 101st, and part of the 102nd foot, the 15th Hanoverian regiment, and 700 recruits.

Madras was at this time unusually full of inhabitants. Besides the large army and its followers, an enormous number of people from the surrounding districts had sought a refuge in the town from the ravages of the enemy. To supply sufficient food for this great crowd, taxed the resources of private trade and of the Government. A large amount of shipping was chartered to convey rice to the port, from Bengal and the Northern Circars, but the prices of food grains continued to rise notwithstanding. Some of the traders, not satisfied with normal profits, deferred landing their cargoes in the hope of obtaining very exceptional gains on their ventures, and it consequently happened that on 15th October 1782, an unusual number of ships of various sizes were at anchor in the roads, waiting for discharge. On that night a violent cyclone burst upon the place; many of the vessels were driven ashore, or foundered, and nearly a hundred of the small craft were destroyed. This calamity never has been, and it may be hoped never will be surpassed. Six months' supply of rice for the army and inhabitants was lost in the sea, and a very terrible famine ensued. Skeletons had already been walking the streets and roads, but the place was soon littered with the dead and the dying. The horrors of a famine when it is concentrated in a city, are appalling beyond description. And although large trenches were dug

beyond the town, and as many as 1,500 corpses a week were thrown into them, the air was polluted from those that were left unburied.

On 6th December, Hyder Ali died at Chittoor, and Lord Macartney urged Stuart to take the field again before Tippoo could return from the west coast, but the general was not disposed to move, until he could be sure of his supplies. It was not until 21st April, that he commenced his march towards Cuddalore—which was to be recovered from the French—nor did he arrive until 7th June, but his store-ships only got there about the same time. On 24th April, Sir Eyre Coote returned from Calcutta, in feeble health, and died at Fort St. George on the following day, to the great regret of the settlement. And in this 20th century, if any one happens to be among the crowd that attend a *levée* in the Banqueting Hall, and near to a group of Subadars and Jemadars, he will find the subject of their conversation is not the "presence" on the dais, but the picture on the further side of the Hall, which they are anxious to get to, and gaze upon the features of brave old "Coote Bahadur."

General Stuart on arriving at Cuddalore, took up a position two miles south of the fort; his force was 1,700 Europeans and 9,300 sepoys. Bussy, now a gouty old gentleman of 64, had arrived from Mauritius, and commanded 3,000 Europeans and 8,000 sepoys. Hughes, with a

fleet of 18 ships-of-the-line, was blockading the town. Suffren, who had been refitting at Acheen during the north-east monsoon, and in the interval cruised about the Ganjam coast, was at Trincomallee. On 13th June, he appeared in sight with 15 ships, and Hughes at once moved five miles away. Very early on the morning of the same day Stuart made his attack on the French army, which had entrenched themselves on the south side of the fort. A very obstinate battle ensued. In the night the enemy abandoned their works, and withdrew into the fort, and the English next day began to construct a parallel facing it. The walls were weak, and now everything depended upon the result of the contest between the fleets. Suffren refused to be drawn out to sea. He anchored off Cuddalore on the evening of 17th June, and hastily embarked 1,200 men to work his guns. Hughes' sailors were suffering much from scurvy, and he had been obliged to supply their places with lascars. Until 20th June, he manœvered to get to the windward of his opponent, but on the afternoon of that day he decided to await Suffren's attack. The battle lasted for 2¼ hours, the loss on both sides was about equal, but the English admiral returned to Madras, while the French remained before Cuddalore.

There is no denying that the position of the British army had now become extremely

unpleasant. Its rice-ships departed with the fleet, and Suffren landed every man he could spare to help in an attack which was planned for the 4th July. On the 1st, a fast frigate arrived from Madras, with the intelligence that a peace with France and Holland had been ratified. There was an immediate cessation of arms, and the enemies of the day before exchanged amicable visits. "God be praised for the peace!" said Suffren, "for it was clear that in India, though we had the means to impose the law, all would have been lost." And the hoary-headed sinner who commanded the British forces, probably expressed his sentiments as fervidly. It would be wrong to omit from this story the episode of the young French sergeant who was among the wounded prisoners taken at the battle of 13th June. When, 22 years later, the French army under Bernadotte (grandfather of the present King of Sweden and Norway), entered Hanover, General Wangenheim attended the *levée* of the conqueror, who reminded him of the incident at Cuddalore, and testified his gratitude for the care which the Major in the Hanoverian regiment had bestowed upon him.

The news of peace was brought by Mr. Sadleir, Member of Council, and Mr. Staunton, Private Secretary to Lord Macartney. They also carried orders for General Stuart to return with them in the frigate to Madras, to answer for his

dilatory and unsatisfactory conduct during the campaign. Stuart made a mistake in supposing that he could exhibit such independence of the civil authorities as Coote and Hughes had done, with impunity. He was arrested on his arrival at Fort St. George, and in October was forcibly placed on boardship, and sent to England. The army was marched back to the Mount early in August; and reinforced by the 36th and 52nd regiments, which had just arrived there from Europe. Sir John Burgoyne assumed command of the King's troops, but he also was soon afterwards arrested for taking a course independent of the Government, and Colonel Lang, of the Company's service, was promoted Lieutenant-General, and assumed the entire command. At this time there was so much dissatisfaction amongst the King's officers, that Lord Macartney deemed it prudent to live in the Fort, and have the gates shut and the bridges drawn up. Lord Pigot's fate was brought vividly to his recollection.

In this small volume there are not sufficient pages for more than a meagre account of the triple war in which Fort St. George was engaged. Nor is there space to relate how Colonel Mackenzie Humberston, with the other half of Seaforth's Highlanders, joined Colonel Abingdon's sepoys at Calicut, and was so successful that Tippoo Sahib was dispatched to oppose him. How Humberston was joined by Colonel Macleod,

with the 2nd battalion of the 42nd Highlanders, and defeated the Mysoreans at Ponani, on 28th November 1782. How Tippoo was recalled eastwards by his father's death, and then hurried off to the north-west of Mysore, to repel an invasion by the Bombay army under General Richard Matthews. How the latter had to surrender at Bednore. How Tippoo then proceeded to Mangalore, and what a noble defence was made of that place, by its small garrison under Colonel Campbell. How Colonel William Fullarton, after the battle of Cuddalore, marched with the Southern army across the country, capturing Dindigul, Palghat and Coimbatore, and was on the point of advancing to Seringapatam, when he was stopped by orders from Madras. And how a disgraceful peace was arranged by Commissioners sent to treat with Tippoo at Mangalore, and was ratified by Lord Macartney.

Francis returned to Europe in 1781 with a wound in his body and revenge in his heart, and Hastings did all that was possible to aid Madras in her extremity. He negotiated for the assistance of the Dutch in exchange for the district of Tinnevelly, and of the Nizam for the relinquishment of the Northern Circars. Neither of these possible solutions would have been less humiliating than that by which the war was ended. The survivors of Tippoo's prisoners were (with many exceptions) liberated, and collected from the

various fortresses by Captain Thomas Dallas, who escorted them to Vellore. Most of them had been kept in irons and unhealthy dungeons, and undergone terrible hardships. Many of the European soldiers were forcibly converted to Islamism, and these were not forthcoming; a large number of the young Highlanders were compelled to remain in the service of the Sultan, to afford him amusement by singing and dancing. The released amounting to 2,000, reached Vellore in April 1784; the number included nearly 300 sailors who had been captured by Suffren, and transferred to Hyder. A small detachment of sepoys was sent from Vellore to meet the escort, and Dallas, seeing a bright-faced youth of 15 ride up, asked him after his commanding officer: "I am the commanding officer," was the reply, "I am Ensign John Malcolm."

The terms of peace were not the only subject of disagreement between the Supreme Council and Lord Macartney. In 1781, the latter, with much difficulty obtained from the Nabob, an assignment of the revenues of the Carnatic for the support of the war. Walajah, about the same time sent an agent—Mr. Richard Joseph Sullivan of the Civil Service—to Calcutta, to obtain a clear recognition of his sovereign rights. And the Governor-General and Council made a treaty with him independently of Madras. The assign-

ment worked well, but it was disapproved of in Bengal. Hastings' second in Council,—who eventually succeeded him as Governor-General—was none other than John Macpherson, the quondam ship-purser, and servant of the Nabob. And upon the spot Macartney had to contend against the intrigues of Sullivan, Benfield and Sadleir. With the last-named he fought a duel, and was wounded. No Governor had more thorns in his path, and none made such heroic efforts to regenerate the administration. But he was doomed to disappointment, for in 1785, orders were received from the Directors that the assignment was to be rescinded; whereupon Macartney resigned. Soon afterwards he was offered the succession to Hastings, but declined on the score of ill-health. He went home, and was immediately challenged by General Stuart. The duel took place in Hyde Park on 8th June 1786. The one-legged old *roué* had to be propped up by his seconds, but he had some satisfaction for the rough handling received at Madras, for he wounded his antagonist severely.

CHAPTER VIII.

A LOOK ROUND.

"SLEEPE after toyle, port after stormie seas, Ease after warre.... does greatly please."—It is as much a relief to turn over the last page of the darkest chapter in this story, as it must have been to the civilians of Madras to feel that there was no longer any danger of their being dragged out of their beds, and sent into captivity in Mysore. For they had made themselves mighty comfortable at this period. They had built palatial residences, and opened out roads to serve them; and they had extended the town from Kilpauk to the banks of the Adyar. The judgment which had fallen on the place did not affect them; the innocent suffered for the guilty, the poor for those who had been absorbed in the occupation of making themselves rich. In human reasoning a well directed earthquake would have been both more just and beneficial to community.

The internal trade was very bad indeed; a devastated country possesses no purchasing power; the peasantry whom the Company wished to convert into consumers of British manufactures, had their puny wealth wrung from them to satisfy the claims of the Nabob's creditors, and the latter had invested it partly

in the China markets, and partly in jewels, gold and silver, for remittance to Europe. It is computed that between 1760 and 1780 these remittances amounted to 20 millions sterling. Nor had the stream ceased to flow. Benfield was back again in Madras, after living like a prince for three years in London, entertaining influential persons lavishly, and distributing the Nabob's bonds amongst them with discretion. The only restriction the Directors placed upon him, was that he was forbidden to visit Walajah, but he was reinstated in the post of chief sowcar to His Highness, and transacted his business with the Nabob's sons. No Hercules had yet arisen to cleanse the stalls of Augeas, and they remained exceedingly foul.

The civilians, who were also the merchants of those times, were doubtless criminals, but they were conspicuous for abundant hospitality. Their houses were made free to their friends, their tables groaned under the weight of dishes, their kabobs, curries and pillaus were things to ponder over, and the excellence of their wines was undeniable. Madeira, which had matured at Madras, was a souvenir which friends and relations at home craved for; full cargoes of it used to be imported for consumption, or reshipment. Claret, Burgundy, Sherry, old Red Port, Malmsey, Tent, Rhenish, Mountain, and Calcavello were also taken at dinner. Pale Ale and

London Porter were on draught, and a curious concoction of toddy, porter and brown sugar, known as "country beer," was said to be very refreshing. So was mango-shrub. All liquors were cooled with saltpetre; aërated waters were not invented. Beef of indifferent quality, and excellent mutton were always obtainable; fish was abundant, fine capons and cabbages were got from Vellore; chicken, duck, and wild-fowl were as cheap as they are now. Breakfast was at 8, tiffin at noon, and dinner at 7. The last was an intolerably long meal. Each guest was attended by four or five servants, who stood in a file behind his chair, when not occupied in supplying his wants. When the cloth was removed, they all disappeared, excepting the hookahbedar, who remained squatting against the wall, and devoted his attention to the trimming of the hookah, which a long tube connected with its owner's mouth. When a dozen or more gentlemen were well into their smoke, a noise similar to continuous snoring resounded round the room. Cigars in those days were smoked only by natives of the lower classes; a contemporary writer describes one as "a cherool or sagar, which is some leaves of tobacco rolled up in the form of a tube so as to be smoked without the aid of a pipe or any other instrument." There were domestic slaves, both male and female, but apparently not very numerous. It

may be doubted whether there was anything to distinguish them from other menials.

The astonishing aptitude of the artizans of Madras for the manufacture of furniture and carriages, was not then developed; both were imported. The chairs, tables, couches, bureaux, and book-cases were of mahogany. The walls were decorated with oil paintings and engravings. The rich were owners of coaches, phætons, chariots and gigs of London make, and the more humble of buggies obtained from Calcutta. Arabs, or as they were then called "Arabic horses," were expensive, as were the larger harness horses imported from Manila; the subaltern had to be content with the Persian, or country-bred.

As the St. Leger was established in 1776, the Oaks in 1779, and the Derby in 1780, we may be perfectly certain that racing was already the vogue in Madras, though there is no mention of any meetings until some years later. The horse-dealers were always Mussulmans, who perambulated the country, and called at buyers' houses with half-a-dozen horses at a time; the animals are said to have been often handsome, and always very wild. Cricket was by this time the recognized national game of England, and there can be little doubt that it also had been introduced here, though the matches were probably considered of too little consequence to be worth chronicling. Certainly it must have been impossible for the

frenzy of any bard to lay upon it, or any other recreation, the blame for the failure of our soldiers to cope with the Mysoreans in mobility, or cunning.

There were many shops in the Fort and Black Town, the proprietors of which competed for the purchase of the assortments of household goods, millinery, etc., brought out by the commanders and officers of the East Indiamen, in what was known as the "privileged trade." But the ladies depended for dress on their own importations from Paris and London; and very curious indeed were the fashions of this part of the eighteenth century. Female head-gear had reached the height of absurdity. The front hair was combed over a huge cushion to meet that from behind, and the entire erection was covered with a mixture of powder and grease, and decorated with ribbons, jewels, artificial flowers, and plumes of feathers half-a-yard high. The petticoat was no less astonishing; being fenced round with a hoop of such enormous proportions that (as a subaltern of the period tells us) four or five ladies were sufficient to fill up a Madras drawing-room, as they were obliged to sit three or four yards asunder. Six o'clock in the evening, after the candles were lighted, was then the correct time for ladies to pay calls. There was a strange custom that when a young lady arrived from Europe, she had to stay at home

every evening to receive visitors, until all the ladies and gentlemen of the settlement had been introduced to her; and she was attended by some bachelor, who acted as master of the ceremonies.

Ladies and gentlemen addressed each other as "Sir," or "Madam," and their language would in these days be considered rather stilted. They were fond of referring to the tender sentiments embosomed in their hearts or breasts. The amorous man left no room for doubt regarding his intentions, in the mind of the Lydia, Lucetta, Clarinda or Jacintha, who had captivated his fancy. The language in which he expressed his devotion was well meted to the extent of her mental culture. She was assured that his soul was "full of pain, hope, despair, and ecstasy," with a great deal more in the same strain. And, if his investments were well chosen, and his prospect of a seat in Council not too distant, she found it impossible to disbelieve him. Young ladies easily earned a reputation for wit, if the following specimen, which was considered good enough to print and publish, was not below the average. "And how do you like my wife-trap," asked a swain from his seat in a new buggy. "Very well Sir," replied the maiden, "I think it a very handsome carriage." "And pray Madam, how do you like the bait within side?" 'Pray Sir,' she responded, "do you speak in French or English?"

But if the boys and girls who were shipped to this country in those days, were poorly equipped in education, there was in the Fort a large Circulating Library for the improvement of those who cared to make use of it. Nor have we need to guess what sort of literature it offered, for there are lists extant of the books which were at that period for sale in India. In these are to be found *Johnson's Dictionary; Blair's Sermons; Raynal's History of India; Hoole's Ariosto; Stuart's History of Scotland; Burke's Queen Elizabeth; Cooke's Voyage; Forest's Voyage to New Guinea; Harris's Voyages; Campbell's Lives of the Admirals; Blackstone's Commentaries; Phillidore on Chess; Voltaire's Works; Hume's History of England; Chesterfield's Letters; Goldsmith's Natural History; Roderick Random; Peregrine Pickle; The Turkish Spy; Sandford and Merton.* Enough to show that there was something to please everyone's taste.

Gentlemen wore queues of considerable length and thickness, dwindling by degrees towards the extremity, with a little bow of ribbon near the head, and a small brush of hair at the end; large curls powdered and pomatumed hung over the ears. Our great-grandfathers, were hard drinkers. The heir-apparent set them an example which they were not slow to follow. Six bottles of Port at home, and probably of Madeira in Madras, at one sitting, was then too

ordinary a feat to brag about. It was no disgrace to appear in ladies' society in an advanced state of intoxication. Conversation was tinctured with oaths, and such curious interjections as, "Hark-ye," "Pry-thee," "Zounds," "Odso," "Sdeath," "Rat-me," "Pigeon-me."

Dancing was a very popular amusement, but every lady was condemned to the same partner for the whole evening; and,—as if that was not a sufficient penalty,—it was strict etiquette for him to call upon her the following day. Round dances had not been heard of then, and the hornpipe, reel, minuet, or cotillon was performed amidst a crowd of admirers. The dancers were comparatively few; the chaperones varied the evening with playing at cards and taking snuff; and a large majority of the men were not married, and had reasons for avoiding ladies' society. The youthful writer who has been already quoted, declares that husbands and fathers in the Company's service were not to be congratulated on their female belongings; that the ladies were frivolous and affected, gave themselves airs, and talked continually of the precedence to which they were entitled. He adds that only the most opulent man could venture upon the luxury of a wife. These strictures cannot be accepted without some reservation, as none of these ladies has given to the world the other side of the story. But on one point we may very fairly take them to task.

Subsequent history does not record a solitary instance of any of their sons having risen to eminence in the service of his country. The men who upheld the British name in the succeeding century, were born of English, Scotch and Irish mothers, who had never seen India.

Society was musical. Harps, harpsichords, French and Spanish Violins, Violincellos, Piano-Fortes with Organs underneath and Flute stops, Ditto without Organs, and Piano-Forte Guitars, were among the instruments advertised for sale. Handel's compositions were in great favour. The popular songs of the day originated, as now in London theatres. Dibdin was producing copiously. It may be surmised that the ditties, "Ned that died at sea," "Cease your funning," "The Vicar of Bray," "O London is a fine town," "The Lass that loves a sailor," and "Then farewell my trim-built wherry," were carolled to the tinkling of the harpsichord. Upon the amateur stage were presented such tragedies as "Hamlet," "Macbeth," "Zara," "Fair Penitent," "Venice Preserved"; and comedies, such as the "Merchant of Venice," "Mock Doctor," "Critic," "She would and she would not," "Who's the Dupe?" "Bon Ton," and "High life below stairs." Also musical extravaganzas called "The Waterman," and "The Padlock."

If the society of ladies was limited at this time, that of men was considerable. Besides the King's

and Company's regiments, and the large contingent from Bengal, there were the numerous officers of the fleet who, we may be sure, were made welcome in every house, when they had not the bad fortune to be confined to the Naval Hospital. And there were heroes and heroes in embryo amongst them. There was Commodore Richard King, who had been on the coast with Watson in 1754, and brought out General Draper in the *Argus* in 1762. He now commanded the *Exeter*, and had borne the brunt of the action with Suffren off Sadras. On that occasion Reynolds, the flag-captain was killed, and his brains dashed over King's face, temporarily blinding him, just as the master, seeing another ship bearing down on them, asked, "What is to be done?" Wiping his face with his handkerchief, King quietly answered, "There is nothing to be done but to fight her till she sinks."

Another of Hughes' commanders was Peter Rainier of the *Burford*, who also had served here before, having fought the French with Pocock in 1758, borne a part in the capture of Pondicherry in 1759, and at the reduction of Manila in 1762. And there was James Alms of the *Monmouth*, an older man either of these, who was one of the very few saved from the *Namur* in 1749; bad health obliged him to remain on shore at Madras for several months. One of the lieutenants of the *Superb* was John Cooke who later in life commanded the

Bellerophon at Trafalgar, and with his last breath cried, "Tell Cumby never to strike." Of the same rank was Edward Berry, who was the first man to board the *San Nicholas* at the battle of St. Vincent, and afterwards assisted Nelson into the main chains of the *San Josef.* And a very youthful commander was Thomas Troubridge of the *Active* frigate, famous later on as Nelson's right-hand man. A fine young fellow, George Murray, also destined to gain renown under the great admiral, had the misfortune to have been for two years a prisoner in France, but was released in approval of his spirited conduct in chastising an American privaterers' man, who had the insolence to appear in public, wearing the English naval uniform, and the royal cockade. Then there was Midshipman George Cockburn, destined after many years, to convey Bonaparte, a prisoner to St. Helena, and subsequently to become Admiral of the Fleet. And Midshipman James Macnamara, who afterwards commanded the *Southampton* frigate at the battle of Cape St. Vincent. And Midshipman Benjamin William Page, who, for the next twenty years, did important service in the Eastern seas, and died an admiral in 1841. And Lieutenant Richard John Strachan, who was to be entrusted by Nelson with the watch on Cadiz in 1804, and so missed being present at Trafalgar, he also became an admiral. Another youngster, who eventually

V 2111 190909

attained to that rank, was William Wolseley, who was in the hospital for some time, having been severely wounded in the chest at the storming of Trincomallee. He recovered sufficiently to go to sea again, and be captured by Suffren off the coast of Ganjam. And not until the year 1842, did that wound open out again, when a jagged piece of lead and fragment of cloth were extracted from it. Less fortunate was Captain James Montague of the *Juno*, who was killed in the battle off Ushant in 1794, and whose statue is in Westminster Abbey. Perhaps the youngest officer in the fleet was Christopher John Williams Nesham, for he was barely 12; he died an admiral in 1853. It is some satisfaction to know that all these served their country well, in spite of the rich fare they enjoyed at Fort St. George. Officers of the King's Navy prided themselves upon its independence of the local authorities. Admiral Hughes had a house in the Fort, and assumed a position of equality with the Governor. He acquired a princely fortune in this country, partly no doubt by prize-money, but mostly from the Nabob's bonds; he died in 1794.

Of other sea-farers, some mention may be made. Thomas Forrest for many years commanded a vessel engaged in the country trade and was the author of "A treatise on the monsoons in East India." He carried to Vizagapatam the news that the French fleet had gone

to Acheen to avoid the monsoon of 1782, and thereby saved many ships from falling into Suffren's hands. James Alexander Haldane, son of Haldane of Airthrey House, Bridge-of-Allan, made several voyages to Madras at this time. He and his brother Robert, took to preaching evangelism, and, in 1797, founded in Edinburgh the "Society for Propogating the Gospel at Home." Afterwards they sold Airthrey for £25,000, intending to establish a mission in India, but the Company refused permission to plant it in any part of their territory, and so the scheme was abandoned. There was James Horsburgh, hydrographer, who traded between here and China; a self-educated man, who published the first charts of Indian seas. And there was a sailor, whose name and fame are more generally known perhaps than those of any other, although his services have not been recorded. His misfortune was that when quite a junior, he had been captured and kept a prisoner in France for many years, but on release he obtained the appointment of Port officer, or Transport agent at Nagore, and was employed in forwarding stores to the Southern army. No doubt he came up to Fort St. George now and again, and made the old walls resound with the blitheness and jollity of his singing. His name was Thomas Dibden, but he was called by his brother, "Tom Bowling." On his way home in 1780, he was

struck by lightning, and died at the Cape. "His Poll" did not long survive him; her name was Elizabeth.

A wide distinction existed between commanders of the Company's Marine Service, which was difficult to get into, and the captains of other vessels, though the positions of both were very lucrative, through trading and the high rates charged for passengers. The former, when on shore, ranked with members of Council, and were saluted by the sentries. The country-captain was generally a man of vast hospitality and cheerfulness. His memory survives in a tasty dish which yet figures occasionally at breakfast. The surgeon's mates, midshipmen, and sailors of the Company's ships, were much given to absconding, and either entering the service of the Nizam, or of poligar chiefs, or embarking in the country trade. Many of them were advertised as having "run at Madras." It was quite a common practice for both commanders and officers to take their wives to sea with them.

In the King's service there were several officers destined to become famous in later years. Major James Stuart, of Macleod's Highlanders, was to see continual service in India, and become Commander-in-Chief here. Lieutenant Thomas Sydney Beckwith, of the same regiment, was to be a renowned leader of light infantry in the Peninsula, and Commander-in-Chief at Bombay.

And Lieutenant Thomas Maitland of Seaforth's Highlanders became Commander-in-Chief in Ceylon in 1806, and commanded the British forces in the Mediterranean from 1811 to 1824. Lieutenant Hugh Henry Mitchell of the 101st, who commanded a brigade in the Peninsula. Lieutenant George Tounshand Walker of the 36th regiment, who greatly distinguished himself at Vimeiro, and whose brigade was sacrificed for the capture of Badajoz. Lieutenant Robert Burne, who entered the 36th regiment in 1771, and remained with it until 1811. And Ensign William Monson of the 52nd, famous for his gallant services under Lake, and for his defeat by Holkar in 1804. Sir William Medows, who commanded the troops in Commodore Johnstone's expedition, and landed some of them here on 9th February 1782, was so much disgusted with the squabbles in the Council at that time, that he returned to sea, and served as a volunteer on the admiral's flag-ship. He took no part in the campaigns on shore.

Amongst the regiments which Colonel Pearse brought from Bengal, were Lieutenant David Ochterlony, afterwards the conqueror of Nepal, and Captain John Kennaway, a distinguished Indian diplomatist, and Resident at Hyderabad.

Of the Madras establishment numerous individuals deserve mention. Colonel Henry Cosby, for some time in command of the Nabob's cavalry,

and knighted in 1783. Captain Thomas Dallas, commandant of Coote's body-guard, and a superb rider, with whom it was the ambition of Hyder's young officers to measure swords, and who never failed either to accept the challenge to single combat, or to come away the victor; he also was knighted. Captain John Orr, who commanded a flying column which escorted treasure, stores, and ammunition to Coote's army. Colonel James Capper, Comptroller-General, whose house still stands near the beach, and was in those days accessible only by the San Thomé, or Triplicane road. Colonel Patrick Ross, the Chief Engineer, who served under Joseph Smith at numerous sieges, superintended the defences of Fort St. George, and established the arsenal there; he was now engaged in forming a corps of guides for the Carnatic, and collecting accurate information about the country and its roads. Mark Wilks, a young lieutenant, who afterwards became the historian of Mysore, and as Governor of St. Helena in 1815, welcomed Bonaparte to that place of seclusion. William Blackburne, a subaltern, who held the post of Resident at Tanjore from 1801 to 1823, and was knighted in 1838. Lieutenant John Chalmers who put in 42 years of continuous service with Madras troops, and was knighted in 1814. Lieutenant Barry Close destined to become a pillar of the State, and a Baronet. And Colin Mackenzie, a Lieutenant in

the Madras Engineers, who attained fame by his antiquarian researches.

The Company was not permitted to seek for recruits in the provinces, and its European soldiers were trepanned in the slums of London. The drafts from home were therefore composed of vagabonds of every description,—thieves and highwaymen just emerged from gaol, fugitives from justice, deserters from the army and navy, cashiered officers, broken-down gamblers, run-away apprentices, absconding debtors, pick-pockets and beggars. And as the discipline was severe, and the use of the lash terribly frequent, it is not surprising that desertions to the enemy were numerous.

If it has been surmised that the Civil service of the time did not contain many distinguished men, the conjecture is not far wrong, but there were a few whose subsequent careers were not devoid of interest. Eyles Irwin may be said to have been the earliest example of a type of district official which has since been closely identified with the British rule in India. A pains taking and conscientious administrator, who gained the confidence and good will of all classes of natives by his sympathy, justice, and integrity. As Superintendent of Tinnevelly and Madura, his popularity was so great that within two years he collected nearly half as much revenue from the poligars, as had been paid to the Nabob's

officials during the previous eighteen. There is something pathetic in the anecdote of his farewell, when the Nabob resumed his revenues. Of the turbulent old chief who placed bags of rupees in his palankeen, and when these were refused, insisted upon being one of the bearers for part of the first stage. Irwin retired in 1785, and lived until 1817. Quintin Crauford left Madras with a large fortune in 1780; settled at Paris, and devoted himself to literature. He there became very intimate with the Royal family, and on the occasion of the attempted flight in June 1791, was entrusted with the King's money, which he transported safely to Brussels. Subsequently he lived with the *emigrés*, and assisted them liberally from his own purse. George Forster, who in 1782 accomplished the then remarkable feat of travelling overland from India to Russia. John Coxe Hippesley, who retired in 1788, and won a Baronetcy in 1796, by successfully negotiating a marriage between the Duke of Wurtemberg and the Princess Royal of England. Charles Oakeley who was President of the Committee of the Nabob's assigned revenues from 1781-84, and did his work so excellently, as to be thanked by Warren Hastings, and praised by Burke. Benjamin Roebuck, a youth still in the grade of Factor; David Haliburton, a Senior Merchant; and Josiah Webbe one of the Assistant Secretaries to Government.

The East India Company employed a large number of surgeons and physicians, and behaved very liberally in affording medical relief to all who applied for it. There was no organized department before 1786, when a Board, consisting of a Physician-General, Surgeon-General, and Inspector of Hospitals, was established; previously the surgeons were mere appendages to the army. Among them were James Anderson, afterwards a famous Horticulturist; William Roxburgh, who in 1785 was appointed the Company's Botanist in the Carnatic; and Patrick Russell, who made a large collection of plants and fishes which he placed in the Company's Museum at Madras. The Nabob had his private physician, a Dr. George Day, brother of Sir John Day, the first Advocate-General in Bengal. The science of medicine was at that time emerging from the darkness of the middle ages, and no universal system had been adopted. Each practitioner had methods of his own, but the blue pill was found useful for most Madras ailments. The first appearance of Cholera is recorded in November 1787, at Vellore; none of the cases was fatal. Surgery was in comparison with medicine, further advanced, although not many years had elapsed since the profession of barber and surgeon was one and the same thing.

There were two notable individuals upon the Governor's staff. George Staunton, a very capa-

ble man of 47, who was a friend of Fox, Burke and Johnson, and had been a planter, physician, soldier and attorney-general in Grenada, and shared imprisonment with Macartney in Paris. Later on he accompanied him in his embassy to China; died in 1801, and was buried in Westminister Abbey. And Hugh Boyd, a friend of Pitt, and an eccentric youth, suspected of being "Junius." He was Macartney's second Secretary, conducted an embassy to the King of Kandy, and on his way back was captured by Suffren, and taken to Bourbon. After release, he was appointed Master-Attendant at Madras, and engaged in journalism. He died in 1794, and was buried in St. Mary's Cemetery. The earliest newspaper in South India, was the *Madras Courier*, established at the end of 1785.

The clergy of the established church sent to India in the eighteenth century were on the whole, not very reputable characters. The Fort chaplain from 1783-89, the Rev. Richard Leslie, was an exception, and appears to have been respected by all classes. Notwithstanding the Company's prohibition, there was already a considerable establishment of missionaries in Black Town and Vepery, but it belonged to the Danish church, and had emanated from the Tranquebar mission. Ziegenbalgh in 1716, was the first Protestant Missionary who set foot in Madras; Schultz followed in 1726. They devoted

themselves to making converts, translating the Scriptures, and teaching the young. Their successors sought refuge at Pulicat when La Bourdonnais took the Fort, and were afterwards granted a plot of land at Vepery, by Admiral Boscawen. During Lally's siege they were again driven to Pulicat, but being countenanced by the local authorities, and supported to a small extent by the Christian Knowledge Society, they returned, and continued their labors. And in the eighties, their position was considerably strengthened by the interest which Schwartz made with the Government. Their flocks were largely composed of Eurasians, who had increased in number enormously during the century. The Vepery community was in every way a contrast to that of the Europeans, whose manner of life could scarcely have been called religious, either in the age which is now being dealt with, or that which followed. As a fact, Madras for many years afterwards, had the reputation of being a God-less spot.

And if the asperities of life were in no wise softened by the consolations of Religion, they were none the more relieved by the resources of Art. There was sufficient wealth to attract to the place portrait and miniature painters, such as John Alefounder, Tilly Kettle, John Smart and others, but their work, however meritorious, has disappeared. As it probably consisted of delineations of pear-shaped figures, blear eyes and

sensual mouths, the loss is of no consequence. But it must ever be regretted that the opportunity of commemorating the noble deeds of her soldiers was lost to Madras. What grander episode for a sculptor is there than the little company of cripples gaining the summit of the rock, and terrifying Hyder with their shouts? Or what finer motives for the painter, than Baillie, erect and proud before the blood-thirsty conqueror, or the modest Flint showing his veteran Chief how he defended the walls of Wandewash?

Duelling was as common as elsewhere—probably more so, for two reasons. Madras was traditionally fruitful in slander, and it abounds in secluded rural nooks, with nothing more to interrupt the combatants than the open-mouthed wonder of the villagers. Besides, there was still comparatively little sport. Games and exercise had not yet become a feature of existence. 'Tygers' were said to be seen at the Mount, but under that term were included every wild species of the feline tribe; and at all events they were not hunted. The majority of the quarrels arose in the course of gambling. The stakes at cards were high, and it was the fashion to lay wagers on occurrences of every description.

Clubs there were none, and Messes only in the King's regiments. But Free-masonry was popular, and though in abeyance during the wars, revived rapidly immediately afterwards. In 1788,

Brigadier-General Matthew Horne was Provincial Grand Master, and Colonel Joseph Moorhouse acting; Colonels Patrick Ross, Henry Cosby and Eccles Nixon were prominent members. Many of the civilians, and nearly every sea-captain belonged to one or other of the lodges.

The Mayor's Court was re-organized several times during the century, but always retained one rather important characteristic,—namely corruptness. The simplest, and perhaps the most ordinary method of obtaining a decree, was to visit the Alderman who was adjudicating in the case, and make it worth his while to give it. In these circumstances, forensic abilities were somewhat superfluous, and the number of barristers in Madras was exceedingly small. The attornies were numerous. In the year 1726, a Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery was constituted, and all the common and statute law at the time extant in England introduced. This Court, held four times a year, was presided over by the Governor, and two Justices of the Peace, and adopted all the forms and procedure of an English Quarter Session. A Grand Jury was sworn, and Bills of Indictment delivered to them by a Clerk of the Peace. These were either thrown out, or endorsed as true; in the latter event, the prisoners were placed at the bar, arraigned, and tried by a Common Jury of twelve. The following is a fair specimen of

the circumlocutory legal phraseology of the period:—

The Court proceeds to the Tryal of Patrick Mundy against whom a Bill of Indictment was found for murder, who being put to the Bar is arraigned as follows:—

Clerk of Peace.—Patrick Mundy hold up your Right hand—You stand indicted by the name of Patrick Mundy of Poonamallee within the jurisdiction of this Court a Private in His Majesty's Seventy Second Regiment of Foot not having the fear of God before your eyes but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the Devil on the Twentieth day of September in the Thirty first year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third now King of Great Britain, France and Ireland defender of the Faith and so forth with Force and Arms at Poonamallee aforesaid in and upon one Richard Clarke also a private in His Majesty's Seventy Second Regiment of Foot and a true and lawful subject of our said Lord the King then and there being feloniously wilfully and of your Malice aforethought did make an assault and that you the said Patrick Mundy a certain brick of the weight of half a pound which you the said Patrick Mundy in your Right hand then and there had and held against and upon the said Richard Clarke, then and there feloniously wilfully and of your Malice aforethought did throw and fling and that you the said Patrick Mundy with the Brick aforesaid out of your Right hand aforesaid so thrown and flung the said Richard Clarke in and upon the back part of the head of him the said Richard Clarke with the Brick aforesaid did strike pènetrate and wound giving to the said Richard Clarke then and there with the Brick aforesaid so as aforesaid thrown and flung in and upon the back part of the head of him the said Richard Clarke one mortal wound of the depth of two inches and of the breadth of three inches of which said mortal wound the aforesaid Richard Clarke from the Twentieth day of September in the year aforesaid until the Twenty-fifth day of the said month of September in the year aforesaid at Poonamallee aforesaid did languish and languishing did live on which said Twenty-fifth day of September in the year aforesaid the said

Richard Clarke at Poonamallee aforesaid of the said mortal wound died and so the Jurors aforesaid upon their Oath aforesaid do say that you the said Patrick Mundy the said Richard Clarke then and there in manner and form aforesaid feloniously wilfully and of your Malice aforethought did kill and murder against the Peace of our said Lord the King his Crown and Dignity. How say you Patrick Mundy are you guilty of the Felony and murder whereof you stand Indicted or not guilty?

Prisoner—Not guilty.

Clerk of the Peace—How will you be tried?

Prisoner—By God and my Country.

Clerk of the Peace—God send you a good deliverance.

In 1772, Provincial Civil and Criminal Courts were established in "the Jaghire," and the Northern Circars, but the Mayor's Court in Madras retained its former powers within its own territorial jurisdiction. Both the Mayor and the Sheriff were persons of some consequence, and when they went in State, their palankeens were surrounded by retinues of pike-men.

The expenses of the wars of 1779-84 nearly ruined the East India Company, and it became evident to all parties at home that a radical change in its constitution was necessary. Some wanted to do away with it altogether; some would be content with placing it under parliamentary supervision. Pitt's India Bill was passed in 1784, and a Board of Control was established, consisting of six members of the Privy Council, who were to check and superintend everything which in any way concerned the civil and military government, or the revenues of the country.

Commercial affairs were left in the hands of the Directors, who were also permitted to nominate, subject to approval, the Governors of their Presidencies. An attempt was made to check corruption in the servants of the Company, by subjecting them to examination as to their private means, under penalty of trial for their delinquencies by a special tribunal. No one was allowed to return to England, unless prepared to declare upon oath, that, if a senior merchant, he did not possess more than Rs.28,000; if a junior merchant, Rs.24,000, and if a Factor, Rs.19,200. This part of the bill was repealed two years afterwards, but it had in the meanwhile an interesting effect at Madras. It called into existence some of the earliest firms of British merchants.

To these were given the name "Houses of Agency," which is still in common use. Their *raison d'étre* was to enable the civilians to comply with the new regulations, and for a good many years they appear to have been owned and controlled by servants of the Company, while the nominal proprietors were—whilom clerks, who had earned the confidence of their employers. Their offices were in the Fort, where the Bank of Madras was located, and the bulk of the commercial and financial business transacted. With peace, trade began to revive, though the army contracts became of less importance; and since Suffren had left off knocking our ships about, the

business of ship-chandling was comparatively dull. But providence tempers the wind to the shorn lamb, and these civilian-firms found a way of growing rich, by making advances to the Nabob in exchange for mortgages of the revenues of specified districts. To such districts they appointed their own managers, whose first duty was to come to an understanding with the military officer in command, so that the largest sums possible might be squeezed from the unfortunate ryots. Having by these means gained possession of the crops, the holders established a monopoly and forced up prices. The operation is common enough now in times of scarcity, but has probably never been performed on such a wholesale scale as it was at that time. The Company's piece-goods trade continued, but in England a small cloud had appeared, which was destined ere long to change Madras from an exporter into an importer of cotton fabrics. In 1775 Arkwright brought his spinning-frame into working order, and five years later Crompton perfected his spinning-mule. In Lancashire and Lanarkshire many mills were being erected, and in 1783 a muslin dress was produced for presentation to Queen Charlotte.

The new Board of Control took into their consideration the state of affairs of the Nabob of Arcot, and after enquiry, ordered that the whole

of the debts which he had contracted between 1760 and 1777 should be discharged. 12 lacs annually of the revenue was set apart for this purpose. On some of the loans, interest at 12 per cent. was sanctioned up to the year 1781, and at 6 per cent. thereafter. Benfield and his associates were thus placed upon the ground-floor; his share of the bonds became worth £35,500 a year. His agent in London had been working well for him, and it is said that no less then nine members were returned to the House of Commons by means of the Nabob's money. Benfield was still in the service, though it is not very clear what appointment he was holding. His principal occupation was to write for the Nabob, virulent complaints against Lord Macartney, and to instigate Walajah to oppose and obstruct the Government of Fort St. George. It may be as well now to follow the fellcw to the end of his career, and have done with him. In 1790 he was suspended from the service, and in 1793 returned to Europe, married, and established in London the firm of Boyd, Benfield & Co. The business it undertook may have been an honest one, for many a so-called merchant, having accumulated capital by transactions not over-scrupulous, finishes his career in the observance of strict probity, and even piety. It must surely have been honest, for Benfield failed at it, and died at Paris in 1810, a pauper. Two other large credit-

ors of the Nabob, Sir John Call—of the siege of 1759—and Mr. John Bryan Pybus, founded a Bank in Bond Street, which was subsequently amalgamated into Martin, Call & Co., and is now Martin & Co., of Lombard Street.

Excepting the facility with which fortunes were made, we have no reason for looking back with envy at our predecessors of the 18th century. The world does not go particularly well now, but there is not any gross self-concert in believing that it went much worse then. Madras has seen many changes in the meanwhile. Chepauk, which was the focus of intrigue, extortion, tyranny and vice, has been converted into a beautiful park. The land once occupied by harems, prisons, torture-chambers, and elephant stalls, has become the most picturesque cricket-ground in Asia. And that transfirmation is emblematic of the others. Morally, the air we breathe is decidedly purer. But the great doctrine that salary and income are not the same thing, has not been eradicated, and probably never will be. And an equally embarrassing and unchangeable legacy is a city, extended far beyond the limits which its trade had justified, or is ever likely to justify; and a Municipality doomed in consequence to eternal impecuniosity.

CHAPTER IX.

E TENEBRIS.

RECOUNTING the story of Madras in the 18th century, may be likened to the preparation of some savoury dish. It is simple enough to begin with; the embers glow, the vessel gradually gains warmth, the ingredients are judiciously added, and the mixture is kept well stirred. But as time advances, and the heat developes, the simmering needs careful control. And when at length the last decade is reached, the names and incidents bubble forth so furiously, that the narrator has trouble in preventing the pot from boiling over.

Lord Macartney returned to his fatherland, and Mr. Alexander Davidson reigned in his stead; but only provisionally, and for less than a year. The term "provisional" is still applied to those who hold temporarily the chief civil office, though without the application it formerly had. Being considered too suggestive of stores, it has been exchanged for "provincial" in the case

commanders-in-chief. The Governors of Fort St. George in this period were.—

Mr Alexander Davidson	...	... 1785-86
Maj.-Gen. Sir Archibald Campbell		... 1786-89
Mr. John Hollond	...	... 1789-90
Mr. Edward Hollond	...	.. 1790
Maj.-Gen. Sir William Medows	...	... 1790-92
Sir Charles Oakeley	...	... 1792-94
Lord Hobart	...	... 1794-98
Lieut.-Gen. George Harris	...	... 1798

Sir Archibald Campbell arrived on 6th April 1786, his age was 47, and his career had been a brilliant and interesting one. As a captain he was wounded at Wolfe's taking of Quebec in 1758, and as a colonel he captured Savannah in 1778. Later on he was appointed Governor of Jamaica, and lent his troops to serve as marines in Rodney's great battle with De Grasse on 12th April 1782. Lady Campbell was a daughter of Allan Ramsay the painter, and a grand-daughter of Allan Ramsay the poet. She was the first Governor's wife to take a share in dispensing his hospitality, and gained a great reputation here for kindliness and charity. The Military Orphan Asylums owe their existence to her.

The Governor found himself immediately confronted with the Nabob's complicated affairs, and after much discussion, a new treaty was concluded on 24th February 1787, by which the revenues of the Carnatic were again assigned to the Company, and of them 9 lacs were made

payable for the maintenance of a force to defend the Nabob's dominions, and 12 lacs were set aside for his creditors. The latter considered that they had not enough, and the Board of Control thought they had been treated too liberally, so that Sir Archibald found himself between two fires; but he was strongly supported by Earl Cornwallis, (who had succeeded Macpherson as Governor-General), and the treaty was confirmed. To deal with the assignment, the Board of Revenue was established on 20th June, 1786, and the work of survey and settlement was at once begun. To Sir Archibald Campbell therefore belongs the credit of initiating the policy of just treatment of the cultivators of the soil. He also introduced the Guinea-grass into India. Ill-health compelled him to resign in 1789; and he died two years later, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Lady Campbell survived until 1813.

Pending the arrival of a successor from England, Mr. John Hollond—who was the Resident at Hyderabad in 1779—took possession of the President's chair; Mr. James Henry Casamajor became second, and Mr. Edward Hollond third in Council. The brothers thus commanded a majority, and such an opportunity not being likely to occur again, they determined to turn it to advantage. It was a sign of some improvement in public morals however, that the things they did made the younger generation of civilians blush

with shame for their service. The custom still prevailed of the Governor having a Dubash of his own, and Mr. Hollond's factotum was a singularly shrewd Brahmin, named Paupiah. His devices for the enrichment of the brothers and himself, were curious and diversified. There was a Beetle and Tobacco farm in "the Jaghire," the extension of which in one direction would greatly benefit one class of ryots, while it would correspondingly injure another. The Council were determined on the extension; the Board of Revenue objected to it, and the injured class petitioned against it. The junior member of the Board was Mr. David Haliburton, and he was also the most active in opposition to this, and other sinister proposals of the Hollonds. It was decided that he must be got rid of. A Chetty was bribed to make an allegation that Haliburton had instigated the malcontents to create a disturbance. Full particulars were forthcoming, and Haliburton was summarily removed from his appointments at Madras, and posted to a distant station. He appears to have been a man of some spirit, and probably had interest with the Directors. The trio therefore deemed it advisable to bring a more serious charge against him. A man named Appajee Row, was prevailed upon to carry a bag of money to the Chetty's house, and to ask him to withdraw his allegation. Appajee was seized in

the act, and hauled before the Governor (who was awaiting him), and he affirmed upon oath, that he had been sent by Haliburton. All these facts transpired a few years later, when Paupiah was tried, and punished for his share in the conspiracy.

A worse instance of corruption remains to be told. By the treaty made with Tippoo Sultan, in 1784, peace was to be observed towards the allies of the English, as well as towards themselves, and the rajah of Travancore, was named as one of these allies. In 1788 however, the restless Tippoo threatened Travancore, and the rajah applied to Fort St. George for assistance, which was promptly afforded. Then the Dutch settlements of Cranganore and Ayacottah were menaced, and the Hollanders in their turn applied to the Travancore ruler for help; a request which he was equally ready to comply with, but the brothers decided that the British contingent was not available for that purpose. It was then arranged between the rajah and the Dutch, that the two places should be transferred to the former. Tippoo declared that the sale was invalid, on the ground that they belonged to his ally the rajah of Cochin, and the affair began to look very serious. In September 1789, the Madras Government received explicit orders from the Supreme Council, that if Tippoo should attack any part of the State of Travancore, he was to

be considered at war with the Company. Meanwhile they were to propose a conference to decide to whom the disputed territory really belonged. Here was a chance which the Hollonds and their friend Paupiah could not let slip. Mr. Casamajor had resigned his seat, and Mr. James Taylor was third member of the Council which withheld these communications, and hinted to the rajah of Travancore that unless he sent them a few rupees, they could not see their way to take his part. Declining to view the matter in that light, the rajah made vigorous preparations for defence, and on the night of 28th December, repulsed the Mysoreans' attack upon his lines. The news of this eruption caused dismay at Fort St. George. John Hollond hastily made over charge to his brother, and embarked for England on 13th February 1790, and Edward soon followed him. Eventually both absconded to America, and were never heard of more.

Madras (as on two previous occasions) was quite unprepared for war, when on 20th February Sir William Medows arrived from home, and assumed charge of its government; but fortunately neither in Bengal nor Bombay had the English any other contest to distract their attention. And both the Mahrattas and the Nizam, thinking the opportunity a good one for recovering some of the possessions of which Hyder had robbed them, quickly gave in their adhesion to Lord Corn-

wallis. Reinforcements arrived from Calcutta, and by the month of May, an army of 15,000 men was assembled at Trichinopoly; of which Medows took the command. Tippoo attempted to negotiate, and then retreated to Seringapatam. Medows soon captured Karur, Dharapuram, Erode, and Coimbatore; a detachment under Colonel James Stuart took Dindigul and Palghat; and another under Colonel Floyd crossed the Bhowani, and surprised Satyamangalum. The details of the campaign which followed are a little wearisome. Our army was separated into three divisions, and in September, Tippoo attacked the foremost of them, and Floyd withdrew to Coimbatore, where Stuart's division also arrived. Whilst Medows was meditating how to force his way into Mysore, the Sultan descended into the plains; and having seized Erode, Tirunamalai, and Permacoil, marched to Pondicherry, seeking support from the French, which was refused him. Medows was outwitted, but in the meanwhile General Abercromby, with Bombay troops, landed at Tellicherry, and subdued all Malabar; and Captain Little, with another Bombay detachment, joined the Mahrattas, and annexed the district of Dharwar. Medows, unable to bring his enemy to action, conducted the army to Vellout, a village now called Velliyur, near the Tinnanur railway station.

By this time Lord Cornwallis had become very

uneasy about Southern India, and decided to proceed there, and take over the command. He landed here with his suite towards the close of the year. No Englishman of such exalted rank and reputation had previously visited Madras, and he was welcomed with much ceremony. The landing-place at that time was at the Custom-house, or Water-gate,—a wooden structure close to the surf, immediately opposite to, and about 50 yards from the sea-gates. The interval between was lined by troops, forming what was called a "street," and the beach and the ramparts of the Fort were crowded with on-lookers, when the stout, healthy-looking nobleman of 52, upon whom so much depended, was lifted from the masula-boat, and deposited on the sand, in the usual manner.

Further reinforcements arrived soon afterwards from Calcutta; on 29th January 1791, Cornwallis assumed the command at Vellout, and by 11th February the army was concentrated at Vellore. Ascending the Mysore plateau, *viâ* Chittoor, and Palmaner, it soon captured Kolar and Hoskote, and on 5th March arrived before Bangalore, which at that time was a place of commercial importance, with a population of 180,000. Tippoo had hastily withdrawn from the Carnatic, but despite his efforts, the town fell at the first assault on 7th March. Amongst the killed was the gallant Colonel Joseph Moorhouse. The fortress was

taken by assault on 20th March, and Tippoo retired to his capital, where he put to death the 19 survivors of Macleod's ill-fated Highlanders, who had been trained to dance and sing for his edification. Lord Cornwallis, after being joined by ten thousand of the Nizam's cavalry, pushed on for Seringapatam, where he hoped to meet with Abercromby from Malabar. The latter did not arrive however, and the Chief, after defeating the Mysoreans at Arakere on 13th May, found himself so crippled for want of supplies and transport, that he destroyed his siege train, threw his shot into the Cauvery, burnt his carts and tumbrils, and marched his army back to Bangalore. The day after he started, the Mahratta army of 40,000 horse, and the Bombay battalion under Little, joined his camp; but without heavy guns, it was useless to think of retracing his steps to Seringapatam.

We are not concerned here with the various military operations which followed this unfortunate blunder, in Mysore and the Coimbatore district, suffice it to say that preparatory to a second attempt on Tippoo's capital, it was deemed expedient, among other things, to reduce certain intermediate formidable hill forts; and that Savandroog, 18 miles west of Bangalore, was carried by assault on 21st December, and Ostradroog, 12 miles further, on the 24th, without the loss of a single man. Nundydroog was also

captured. On 5th February 1792, the British Army and the allies from Hyderabad and Poona, again encamped before Seringapatam, and were on the 16th joined by Abercromby's force, which had marched through Coorg. The citadel was threatened from both sides, and its defence so hopeless, that Tippoo dispatched envoys to sue for peace. Conditions were arranged by which he was to cede half of his dominions, pay three crores of rupees, release all of his prisoners, and deliver two of his sons as hostages. Lord Cornwallis received the boys with great kindness, and said he would be a father to them ; a promise which he so scrupulously observed, as to become the only human being who ever extorted respect and gratitude from the Sultan. During the imposing ceremony of the surrender, General Medows, disgusted at his frequent lack of success, made an attempt on his own life, when, happily, failure again attended him.

There was great rejoicing at Madras over the termination of the campaign, and it may be said that from this epoch the civilians of the place were first inspired with feelings of patriotism, and of pride in the successes of the British arms. The anniversary of the surrender was celebrated for many years after. Sir Charles Oakeley returned from England on 15th October 1790, as second in Council, and in Medows' absence, assumed charge of the civil administration.

The task of providing for the needs of the army was one of much difficulty, but he was equal to it. He borrowed money in Europe and Bengal; reduced expenses, insisted on an efficient collection of the revenue, got a subsidy of 10 lacs from the rajah of Travancore, and put rupees into circulation as current coin. Without the assistance which he afforded in money, stores and draught cattle, Cornwallis could not have brought the war to a successful finish. Now that it was over, Medows set sail for England, and Oakeley became the substantive Governor, on 1st August 1792. He then turned his attention to the reduction of the Company's floating debt at Madras, and the administration of the Salem and Coimbatore districts, which had been gained from Tippoo.

Lord Cornwallis returned to Calcutta in July, after concluding a fresh treaty with the Nabob; and the troops went back to their cantonments, enriched with booty, which the Chief and Medows had refused to share. A great many of those officers whose names were mentioned in the last chapter, served in the campaign just concluded; but there were others who afterwards attained to eminence, and they too deserve some notice. These were Lieutenant Colonel David Baird, still of the old 73rd,—but now the 71st Highlanders; Lieutenant Alexander Beatson, who became Governor of St. Helena, from 1808-13;

Captain James Campbell of the 19th Dragoons, a nephew to Sir Archibald,—he took possession of the Ionian Isles for Great Britain in 1809; and Captain Robert Crauford of the 75th regiment, who was so renowned in the Peninsula, and met with death at Ciudad Rodrigo. Also Lieutenant John Hamilton of the 76th foot, who was subsequently to defend Alba de Tormes against Soult; and Captain George Harris, Secretary to General Medows, with whom he went home; and Lieutenant William Nicholay of the Engineers, who lived to fight at Waterloo, and to be Governor of Mauritius in 1832-40; and Lieutenant Miles Nightingall of the 52nd regiment, who commanded the Highland Brigade in the Peninsula, and captured Java in 1813; and Captain David Price, the Orientalist, who served with Little's detachment, and lost a leg; and Captain Michael Symes of the 76th (at present the 2nd West Riding regiment) who behaved with great gallantry during Moore's retreat to Corunna, and died on his way home from the hardships of the campaign. Also Lieutenant John Alexander Dunlop Agnew Wallace of the 75th Highlanders, who commanded the famous Connaught Rangers at Busaco and Fuentes de Onoro; and Lieutenant James Welsh who put in 40 years of active service with the Madras Army, and published an interesting book of his reminiscences; and Ensign James Lillyman Caldwell

of the Madras Engineers; and Captain William Kirkpatrick, who succeeded Kennaway as Resident at Hyderabad; and Captain Alexander Dirom, who wrote the story of the campaign. Surely it is of some interest to know that to all of these distinguished men, the scenes around us were once familiar.

All the time that the tyrant of Mysore, and the measures being taken to crush him, were occupying men's thoughts in Madras, very strange events indeed were passing in France. From the time of the convocation of the States-General in 1788, that country had been in a state of ferment. The National Assembly assuming the control, framed a new constitution, and issued their Declaration of the Rights of Man. The starved populace of Paris threatened the King, and overawed the Assembly. The nobility and clergy were abolished, and the government repeatedly reconstituted. On 20th August 1791, the Governor of Pondicherry notified that the national flag, which was formerly white, would for the future be composed of three perpendicular stripes, coloured red, white, and blue. In 1792, the nation went to war with Austria and Prussia, crushed the Assembly, did away with royalty, and proclaimed the Republic; the streets of Paris and other towns were dyed with human blood. Early in the following year Louis XVI. was executed, and the hostility of all Europe was challenged,

—more especially of England for she showed most repugnance to the revolutionary principles. The crisis came at last. On 2nd January 1793, the British 16 gun sloop *Childers*, Captain Robert Barlow, was standing in towards Brest harbour when one of the batteries which guard the entrance of that port, fired at her. That was the first shot of a war which raged almost continuously between our country and France for 22 years,—the cost of which this generation is endeavouring to pay. Barlow's name has been mentioned, because he had a younger brother named George, who was at that time a civilian on the Bengal establishment, very highly thought of by Cornwallis. The outrage at Brest was known in London on 4th January, and orders were issued for reprisals. On 1st February, the mad republic formally declared war against Britain and Holland, and soon afterwards against Spain and Portugal. The news reached this country, *viâ* Alexandria, in June 1793. The admiral on the East India station was Sir William Cornwallis, a jovial red-faced man, called by his sailors "Billy-go-tight," and a younger brother of the Governor-General. He at once seized all the French ships he could lay hands on, and took Chandernagore. But, contrary to expectation, France sent no force to the Eastern seas, and our navy had for some time to come, little more to do in these parts, than to protect our merchantmen.

The familiar operation of reducing Pondicherry had however to be taken in hand again, and under Oakeley's excellent administration, the Madras army was in a state fit for the task. The town yielded quietly to Colonel Sir John Brathwaite on 23rd August, after a short blockade. Karikal and Yanam offered no resistance. Cornwallis, (now a Marquis) scenting battle from afar, left Calcutta with the intention of superintending the manœuvres, but found upon his arrival that there was nothing left for him to do, and on 10th October, he embarked here for Europe, having been succeeded in the government by Sir John Teignmouth Shore. The inhabitants of Madras commissioned the sculptor Banks, to execute a life-size statue of the Marquis.

Mr. Thomas Twining—a son of the tea-man who lived in the Strand, who would be wining, so the wits said, if robbed of his T—visited Madras at this time, and his account of the place, published a hundred years later, is of interest. He landed here on 1st August 1792, from the Indiaman *Ponsborne*, 800 tons, 121 days out from the Downs. Some of the impressions he records are identical with those of new-comers, if not now, at any rate but a few years ago. The first appearance of a catamaran-man, who seems to be walking on the sea; his self-possession, civility and nakedness; the "Yelly, yelly, yelly" of the masula-boatmen as they pull through the break-

ers; the peculiar shapes of the horses, the familiar bearing of the crows, the assiduous attentions of the dressing-boys; the chunam-covered walls, and the cunning *gekkos* thereon; the parade-ground of the Fort, bounded on the east by the Council-house; the hollow-sounding gate-ways; the dexterous throws of their cast-nets by the Cooum fishermen; the flat-roofed bungalows, the piccotah waterlifts, and the jugglers' tricks. And there were also scenes and fashions which have passed away. The cane-bottomed sofas; the palankeens; the chattahs, or large painted umbrellas; the open roads which crossed the Choultry plain and converged at the Government bridge; and the Import and Export warehouses, the Bank, and the shops, inns, and coffee-houses in the Fort. A sight which no visitor missed, was Dr. Anderson's garden—now known as Tulloch's garden—in Nungumbaukum. To get there from the Fort was at that time considered not an insignificant enterprise.

Tippoo's sons were lodged in the Fort, under the charge of Captain John Doveton of the 2nd Madras Cavalry, and treated with distinction by the Governor and the Nabob. The latter was particularly attentive, and at this time entered into a secret and treasonable correspondence with Tippoo. In March 1794 the boys were restored to their father. On 7th September, Sir Charles Oakeley resigned the Governorship, and

was succeeded by Lord Hobart. In November "Billy-go-tight" gave place to Commodore Peter Rainier, who arrived at Fort St. George with a large convoy. If he had any nick-name, it was not remarkable enough to be handed down to posterity.

Lord Hobart was an active-minded man; his age was 34. His family had great influence at home, and he came out as a provisional Governor, with succession to the Governorship-General. His excellent manners, and the graceful courtesy of Lady Hobart made them very popular; they entertained Madras society frequently and liberally, with dinners, balls, and suppers. But the Governor soon had more serious matters than these to occupy his mind. In 1794 the French conquered Belgium, occupied Amsterdam, took the Dutch fleet at the Texel, and drove the Duke of York's army home in disgrace. This triumph resulted in the establishment of a Batavian republic in close alliance with France; and consequently inimical to Britain. The news arrived here in June 1795, and the remaining Dutch settlements on this coast, *viz*—Bimlipatam, Tuticorin, and Keelkaira were immediately taken possession of; as was Cochin. Two expeditions were speedily organized against Malacca and Ceylon; they sailed from Fort St. George on the same day—23rd July. The first, under command of Rear Admiral Peter Rainier, took possession, not only of Malacca, but also of the Spice islands, Amboyna and Banda Neira, and

prizes obtained in the shape of nutmegs, mace, and cloves, made the participators objects of envy to the less fortunate troops and sailors. The force for Ceylon was commanded by Colonel James Stuart, who soon subdued Trincomallee, Batticaloa, and Jaffnapatam, and on 15th February 1796 took possesssion of Colombo. A battalion of Swiss mercenaries, known as the Regiment de Meuron, which had aided in the defence, transferred their allegiance to the English, and in the following year were brought to Madras, and quartered in the Fort.

In September 1795 the Dutch were also deprived of Cape Colony, by forces under the command of Admiral Sir George Elphinstone, and Major-General Sir Alured Clarke, both of whom came on to Fort St. George in January 1796; the one as Naval and the other as Military Commander-in-Chief. In the following May, Elphinstone returned to the Cape, and captured the Dutch squadron in Saldanha Bay.

On 13th October 1795, the grand old debtor died, and was succeeded by Omdut-ul-Omrah. The payments arranged for by Lord Cornwallis in 1792, had been made regularly, but out of money borrowed from sowcars and the "Houses of Agency"; and since through their exactions the cultivators were constantly becoming poorer, Lord Hobart foresaw that in course of time the surplus revenue would altogether disappear. He

therefore endeavoured to pursuade the new Nabob to agree to a modification of the existing treaty. He proposed the transfer of the collections, and the powers of internal government of the unassigned districts to the Company, and offered in exchange to relinquish part of the subsidy. The negotiation failed because the Nabob's Native ministers and European advisers were strongly opposed to the change. In his dealings with Tanjore, Lord Hobart was more successful. Upon the death of Tuljaji in 1787, his half-brother Ameer Singh assumed the throne, to the exclusion of Serfojee an adopted son. And Ameer Singh had an infamous minister named Sivarow, who grievously oppressed the people. With apprehensions similar to those which he entertained with reference to the Carnatic, the Governor insisted upon the cession of a district, which had previously been merely mortgaged to the Company in liquidation of a debt. Sir John Shore approved of Lord Hobart's policy in both these instances, but found fault with the means adopted for carrying it into effect. He complained to the authorities at home of the impetuous zeal of the Madras Governor, and of the terms in which he discussed the opinions of the Supreme Council. These representations eventually spoiled Lord Hobart's prospects of promotion. Lady Hobart died at Madras on 7th August 1796.

By this time a young officer named Napoleon Bonaparte, had made himself very useful to the French Republic, and been placed in command of the army in Italy. There he did splendid service, and having conquered the northern portion of that country, forced the Pope to sue for peace. In that peace Spain joined, and so became an ally of France in her quarrel with England. This news reached India in March 1797, and Sir John Shore immediately issued orders for an expedition against Manila. The Madras army—which had in the previous year been reorganized—was called upon to contribute the bulk of the force required. Sir Alured Clarke had in the meanwhile succeeded to the chief command in India, and since 27th March 1797, the Chief here was Major-General George Harris, who has been mentioned as Secretary to Sir William Medows in 1792. The troops embarked on 26th August, under the command of Sir James Craig. At Penang they were to be joined by a detachment from Bengal. But nothing came of the expedition for this reason. Events in Europe were travelling at a prodigious speed. Bonaparte had pushed his way to Vienna, forced the emperor of Austria to agree to an armistice, and enabled France to make her war with England of paramount importance. And Tippoo Sultan, informed of all this by his French officers, who had caught the infection of

republicanism, was sanguine enough to suppose that it offered him a chance of shaking off the shackles with which Lord Cornwallis had bound him. He made an appeal to the Directory at Paris for help, and sent an embassy to the ruler of Afghanistan, proposing to him a combination for the subjugation of the Mahrattas, and the expulsion of the English from India. Although Lord Hobart had then no precise knowledge of what was occurring, he had sufficient prescience to see that in such times the Carnatic could not afford to disseminate her protective forces, and he dispatched a fast frigate to Penang to countermand the expedition.

Now it so happened that the officer in charge of the contingent from Bengal, was an Irishman who had seen a little active service under the Duke of York, and was anxious for more; and for promotion in any capacity. After dispatching his troops back to Calcutta, he remained for a while at Penang, wrote a memorandum upon its trade and resources; and then took ship for Madras, where he landed about Christmas time. Being a person of some consequence, he was probably the guest of Lord Hobart. He signed himself, "Arthur Wesley."

And thereby hangs a tale. Colonel Wesley landed with his regiment at Calcutta in the previous February, and immediately afterwards wrote to his eldest brother, the Earl of Morning-

IN 1798.

ton, (who was at that time a lord of the Treasury and a member of the Board of Control, but in indifferent health) and urged him to apply for an appointment in this country, where the climate would suit him, and there was a prospect of a great career. The same ideas seem to have occurred to the Earl, for in July, his brother heard from him of the offer of the Governorship of Madras with succession to Lord Cornwallis, —who in the interval had been re-nominated Governor-General. And it was the expectation of meeting his brother, as well as the possibility of active service, that brought Colonel Wesley to Fort St. George. His age at that time was 28; he was of a slim, lithe, and strongly built figure, with an elastic stride, a fresh complexion and bright eyes. He lived plainly, drank sparingly, and required very little sleep. He was fond of society, conversation and music, and loved a rubber at whist. He has left few records to show how he occupied himself during the cold weather of 1797-98, except that he visited the most important forts on the frontier, *viz*—Vaniyambadi, Tirupatur, Krishnagiri, and Rayakota, as well as Arnee, Arcot and Vellore; and studied carefully the question of an attack or defence against Tippoo. The conclusion he arrived at was that the Madras army was by no means prepared for a serious war, and he felt some indignation at the frequent interference of

the civil authorities with the department of the Commander-in-Chief.

Major-General George Harris, lived on the Choultry plain with his wife and daughter. The latter was on 9th December, married at St. Mary's, to Mr. Stephen Rumbold Lushington, Deputy Secretary to the Board of Revenue; and the young couple lived with her parents. Another inmate of the house was the Captain John Malcolm, Military Secretary to the Chief, and for his exuberant spirits and fondness for frolic, known as "Boy Malcolm." To his sister he wrote at this period—"My evenings do not pass unpleasantly. I have a most agreeable home; and if disposed to visit, which I seldom am, I meet a welcome in families both genteel and lively. As to ladies—I don't know that we have any positively fine. But we have several good mothers, and some promising daughters; and what more would you wish?"

There had been some remarkable changes in the fashions during the previous 10 years. Excessive drinking, powdered hair, ruffles and shoe-buckles had gone out, and men of fashion had taken to pantaloons, and hessians, or top-boots and buckskins, with blue coat, and buff-colored waist-coat. Evening dress consisted of a blue coat and white waist-coat, black pantaloons buckled tight at the ankle, striped silk stockings and opera-hat. The rank and file of the army

still wore queues, or clumps, but officers and gentlemen cropped their hair close. Ladies too discarded their fair tresses, donned clinging garments, and bared their pretty necks, as though prepared for the guillotine. In Oxford Street, London, there was a fashionable assembly-room called the Pantheon. An ambitious building in Egmore therefore became the Pantheon of Madras, where for many years subscription masquerades, balls, banquets, concerts and theatricals were held. The entrance-hall of the Government Central Museum, and the room adjoining its Northern side are probably all that remains of this celebrated house. Where the race-course was, and what the stakes were, are matters for conjecture, but there were meetings at regular intervals; and the managers sometimes gave a Race-ball. The Governor's entertainments were held in the main building of Government House, which was more circumscribed than now.

Within the Fort a large three-storied building known then as the Exchange and Town Hall, (but now as the Mess-house) was erected. Its lower floor was let out for shops, and part of the first floor was a Tavern. There was a light-house and signal-station upon the roof. It should be remembered that the roadstead was opposite the Fort, and that vessels anchoring there, though small, were very numerous. Not only the approach of every ship, but the direction from which it was

coming were signalled. And there was also great punctiliousness in the giving and returning of salutes to the King's ships, and those of the Honorable Company. For important personages the battery at Chepauk joined in. Madras had then a character to maintain as an important Naval Station.

Another remarkable contrast to the present times was the large employment for members of the Civil Service in the Fort. Besides the Government Secretariat, there were the Board of Trade and Board of Revenue; a Postmaster-General, Military Pay-master, Assay-master, Mint-master, agent for the supply of spirituous liquors, and Collector of Customs; an Accountant-General; Import and Export warehouse-keepers; and Secretary and Cashier to the Bank. The Company further had in its employ a Solicitor and an Advocate, and owned a press from which the *Government Gazette* issued every Thursday. The Rev. Richard Leslie had become Archdeacon, and the Rev. Richard Hall Kerr was now the Fort Chaplain. Another clergyman of the establishment was the Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell, who by persistent asking got appointed to eight army chaplainships in Bengal, all of which he held simultaneously. He retired in 1796 with a fortune of £25,000, and made himself famous throughout England, by introducing what he called the Madras system of education—which was nothing

more than employing the elder pupils to teach the younger.

The names of a few other residents will be mentioned. John Binney of the firm of Binny and Dennison, lived in a bungalow in what is now the compound of the Connemara Hotel. George Arbuthnot, of the firm of Francis Latour & Co. William Douglas Brodie of Tulloh, Brodie and Halyburton. Thomas Parry, and David Pugh, free merchants. William Hope, who kept the Inn and shop in the Exchange Stephen Popham, the projector of the Broadway; but he died in 1795.

On 8th January 1798, a Lieutenant, little more than 15 years of age joined the King's 12th foot, then stationed in the Fort, and a few days afterwards marched with it to Tanjore. His name was Robert Henry Sale. On 13th February, the revered and accomplished Schwartz died at Tanjore, aged 76. He had but recently persuaded the Government to reconsider the claims of young Serfojee to the throne of Tanjore.

Before Colonel Wesley returned from his tour up-country, he learnt that Lord Hobart had resigned the governorship, and embarked for England on 20th February 1798, immediately after receiving the news of Lord Mornington having on 6th September, kissed hands upon his appointment to Madras. Wesley therefore became the guest of General Harris, who was temporarily

filling the post of Governor. Apparently the house on Choultry plain was already quite full, and Captain John Malcolm, who had succeeded to the office of Town Major of Fort St. George, put the Colonel up at his house, which adjoined the Governor's official residence there. The latter is now the Accountant-General's Office. Part of February and the whole of March, the Colonel of the 33rd foot remained at Madras, waiting for his brother. His name is not found amongst those of a number of officers who on 24th March, attended a punishment parade at the Mount, when three Artillery-men were hanged, and onc was blown from a gun, for a mutiny in barracks in January.

Early in April, news arrived that Lord Mornington had been appointed, not Governor of Madras, but the new Governor-General. Thereupon Colonel Wesley enquired about a passage to Calcutta, and having been introduced by Malcolm to Robert William Eastwick, owner and commander of the full-rigged ship *Endeavour*, he sailed in her on 10th April. The strong southerly wind soon carried them out of sight of what was at that date considered to be "the handsomest and strongest fortress in His Majesty's dominions"—Fort St. George.

THE END.

190909